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THE

MODERN PART

OF AN

Universal History,

FROM THE

Earliest Accounts to the Present Time.

Compiled from

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By the AUTHORS of the ANCIENT PART.

VOL. VIII.

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History of the Commerce to, and the Settlements in the East Indies, by the several European Nations.

SECT. II.

The History of the Commerce of the Indies, while carried on by the Venetians and other States of Italy.

A succinct view of the correspondence between the Greek empire and the Indies.

IT appears clearly, that, under the Greek emperors, voyages to the Indies were become more common than in former times; but we could scarce have believed that so many different kinds of Indian commodities, and almost from every part of India, were common at Constantinople, if it were not verified by the public laws of the empire, as they stand collected by the emperor Justinian; from whence it is evident, that there were several duties imposed upon a multitude of goods brought from the Indies, such as spices of different kinds: for instance, cinnamon, which came from the island of Ceylon; but not in any great quantity, for it was always very dear. The xilo-

cinnamomum was no other than the wood of the cinnamon-tree, on which there was also a duty [q]. Cassia, described at large by several ancient authors, appears to have been a sort of milder cinnamon; this likewise came from Malabar and Ceylon: the modern cassia is another thing, and has a somewhat higher flavour [r]. Pepper of several kinds, and ginger, came from the Indies. Pliny is very angry that this spice should be so much admired; for, as he observes, other things are either pleasant to the sight, the smell, or the taste, whereas there is nothing in pepper agreeable to any of these senses [s]. In his time long pepper was worth about nine or ten shillings a pound of our money. Ginger did not bear a very high price among the ancients; for, in the time of Pliny, it was not worth above three shillings a pound, and at Constantinople not so much. It may not be amiss to observe, that in those days authors affirm, they adulterated their spices very dexterously; from whence it is evident they were much in use, and consequently must have been brought from the Indies in considerable quantities. They had likewise precious stones of all kinds. Silk, cotton, mohair, and other manufactures, came also from thence, in vast quantities [t].

How the states of Italy drew to themselves such prodigious advantages from this trade.

While the Greek empire continued in a flourishing condition, Constantinople was the centre of trade to Europe and Asia, and the inhabitants grew immensely rich, and excessively insolent. Out of the many different ways of corresponding with the oriental nations, there were very few, indeed hardly any, that did not benefit this great city. The caravans that proceeded from India, through Candahar into Persia, supplied those factors plentifully, who managed their traffic with the Greeks, at the great fairs upon the frontiers of the two empires [u]. No inconsiderable part of what was carried by the northern routes and Caspian sea, found its way to Constantinople, through the Pontus Euxinus. What was conveyed by the Persian coast, and afterwards by land into Syria, came from thence by sea to this great city: but above all, they received from Egypt, while it remained under the same sovereign, prodigious quantities of valuable merchandize [w]. The citizens of Constantinople were too opulent, and too lazy, to make

[q] Digest. lib. xxxix. tom. 4. Plin Hist. Nat. lib. xii. cap 19. [r] Prosper Alpin. Medicin. Ægypt. lib. iv. cap. 5. Acost. Bontius, &c. [s] Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. xii. cap. 7 [t] Digest. lib. xxxix. tom. 4. [u] Huet Histoire du Commerce des Anciens, chap. 58. [w] Cod. Theod. lib. xiii. tit. 5. leg. 14—32.

use

uſe of their own ſhips for tranſporting this merchandize into the different parts of Europe; ſo that this province fell to the ſhare of the Italian ſtates. As the Greeks grew rich by this commerce, ſo the Venetians, the Genoeſe, the Florentines, and other maritime ſtates in Italy, were indebted to it for their naval power [x]. It was this that enabled them to fit out ſuch formidable fleets, to make themſelves maſters of ſeveral fruitful iſlands, as well as convenient ports, in Aſia, and in Europe; while the Greeks, pleaſed with the temporary aſſiſtance that from time to time they derived from ſquadrons which they took into their ſervice, never conſidered the declenſion of their own maritime ſtrength, or regretted thoſe advantages which the ſubtile Italians drew from their negligence and inactivity.

The riſe of the Saracen empire, and the ruin of that of the Greeks.

It was by this abſurd conduct that the Greek empire was in the end brought to abſolute ruin; as by the ſame errors it had loſt the important province of Egypt, to a power that never could have raiſed itſelf, if there had been the leaſt foreſight or firmneſs in thoſe who adminiſtered public affairs at Conſtantinople. The ſecond monarch of the Saracens from Mohammed, who ſet up for a ſovereign when he had no more than thirty ſubjects, found himſelf ſtrong enough, after the conqueſt of Perſia, to exact a vaſt annual tribute from Egypt; which country, though the emperor Heraclius was unable to defend, yet he could not bear that ſuch a ſum as two hundred thouſand crowns of gold ſhould be paid to any prince but himſelf by its inhabitants [y]. He commanded, therefore, the tribute to be refuſed; and the war that enſued proving unfortunate, that country was loſt to the empire. Omar, the ſecond khâlif, who made this conqueſt, reigned but ten years and a half, and in that time ſubdued Syria, Chaldea, Meſopotamia, Perſia, Egypt, and part of Africa, that is to ſay, as far as Tripoly in Barbary. By this blow the Greeks loſt all their eaſtern provinces, and the trade to the Indies, at leaſt on that ſide entirely [z]. That impetuoſity which enabled the Saracens to make themſelves maſters in ſo ſhort a time of ſuch vaſt dominions, was not like to ſuffer them to continue long under one head, which was undoubtedly the deſign of their founder. Abulcaſſem Mohammed Ben Abdallah, being

[x] Claud. Barthol. Moriſoti Orbis Maritimus. [y] Paul. Diacon. lib. xviii. Gul Tyr. lib. ix. [z] Gregorii Abul Pharagii Hiſtoria Dynaſtiarum, p. 113

in poſſeſſion of part of Africa, ſet up for himſelf in the year of the Hejra 296, and took the title, not of khâlif, but of mahadi, which ſignifies *director* [a]. He fixed the ſeat of his monarchy at Cairoan, which is the name the Arabs beſtowed on the city of Cyrene, or rather a new city built on its ruins. He left the government to his ſon Cajem, who removed the ſeat of the empire to Mahadi, a new city which his father had erected; and his grandſon Abou Temim Maad, ſurnamed Moez Ledmillah, who ſucceeded in the year of the Hejra 341, proſecuted the deſign which his anceſtors had entertained of making himſelf ſovereign of Egypt [b].

A. D. 958. His general Jawhar, a Greek by birth, accordingly invaded that country, of which he made himſelf entirely maſter; and, in the year of the Hejra 358, laid the foundation of a new city called Caherah, or Al Caherah, that is, *the Victorious*, which the Europeans call Cairo, or Grand Cairo [c]. Moez Ledmillah removed from his old capital, and made his entry into Cairo in the year of the Hejra 362, and there took the title of khâlif. His ſucceſſors were ſtyled khâlifs of Egypt, to diſtinguiſh them from the khâlifs of Bagdad, the true ſucceſſors of Mohammed. This city was very conveniently ſituated on the Nile, and became in time no leſs conſiderable for its commerce than for its being the ſeat of empire. The old trade by the way of the Red Sea was once more reſtored to Egypt, which flouriſhed exceedingly under this new race of princes, as appears by the revenue it produced to its khalif; which, as Elmacinus tells us, amounted to no leſs than three hundred millions of crowns of gold [d]. The khalifs of Egypt were nine in number; and the laſt of them was Adhad, who was depoſed by Saladin, general of Noureddin, ſol-

Cairo becomes the capital of Egypt, and the centre of this trade in that country.

A.D. 1171. tân of Damaſcus, in the year of the Hejra 567. Saladin, entering the palace of the khâlif, who died immediately after he was depoſed, found prodigious riches; and, among the reſt, a noble proof of the commerce of the Indies, which was the richeſt ruby in the world, perfectly fine and bright, weighing very near an ounce and a half. This ſucceſs, and the having a great army at his devotion, tempted him to declare himſelf an independent prince; which he did, and afterwards extended his dominions over all the countries of Damaſcus, Paleſtine, and Syria. He left at his deceaſe his kingdom of Egypt to his ſecond ſon Othmân, who

[a] Epitom. Hiſt. Saracen. lib v. p. 91. [b] D'Herbelot Bibliotheque Orientale, p. 595. 742. [c] Gregorii Abul Farag. Hiſt. Dynaſtiarum, p. 315. [d] Elmacin. Hiſtor. Saracen, p. 391.

died

died in the year of the Hejra 595, and was succeeded by his brother, who was soon deprived by his uncle Malek Al Adel, whose grandson Malek Al Salek succeeded in the year of the Hejra 647. He enlarged the city of Cairo, and fortified it with a strong wall, and was victorious over St. Lewis of France: but this prince, however, was the last of his house; for the Mamlouks, or Mamelucs, as they are generally called, a kind of mercenary soldiers, revolted from him, and forced him to take shelter in a wooden tower which hung over the Nile. To this tower the mutineers set fire, and thereby compelled the unfortunate monarch to leap into the river, where he was drowned [e].

Who the Mamelucs, or Mamlouks were, that possessed themselves of Egypt.

In consequence of this surprising revolution, these Mamelucs became sovereigns of Egypt, and chose their general soltân, who thereupon took the name of Al Malek Al Azis. He was the first prince of the dynasty of Mamelucs distinguished by the name of Bahrites, Baharites, or *Marines*; for these people were either young Turks or Tartars, sold to private persons by the merchants, from whom they were bought by the soltân, educated at his expence, and, when qualified, employed to defend the maritime places in the kingdom [f]. These foundlings made excellent soldiers; for, having no friends but amongst their own corps, they turned all their thoughts to their profession, as they placed their hopes in acquiring the principal posts in their militia; for these were bestowed only as merit directed; and, upon the demise of a soltân, his successor was taken from among the officers of the first rank. One would have imagined that this military government, so well constituted, and founded upon so broad a basis, must have subsisted a long time; and yet, in about one hundred and thirty years, it sunk as suddenly as it rose, by an error in politics. As they constituted originally but a small part of the standing forces of the monarchs of Egypt; as a numerous standing army was absolutely necessary in a country where the first maxim of government was, that every native of Egypt must be a slave; and as they were justly suspicious of all who had served before, they were under great difficulties how to act; but at length resolved to buy Christian children, and to bring them up in the same discipline which had been the source of so much good fortune to themselves. Thus far they acted sensibly; but, by a refinement upon this scheme,

[e] Supplementum Historiæ Dynastiarum ab Edwardi Pocokii, p. 8, 9.

[f] D'Herbelot Bibliotheque Orientale, p. 545.

they rendered what had been otherwiſe the means of ſafety, the ſure inſtrument of their own deſtruction. Theſe Chriſtian children were bought in Circaſſia, from their own parents, who were pleaſed to ſtyle themſelves Chriſtians, but, by that infamous practice, ſhewed that their faith had no influence on their morals; but what is ſtill ſtranger, the Greek emperors of Conſtantinople made a treaty with the Mamelucs, by which they were permitted to ſend an annual ſhip into the Black Sea, to fetch theſe unhappy infants [g]. When they had gone through their military education, and were fit for ſervice, they were diſpoſed through all the inland fortreſſes, erected to bridle the inhabitants; and, becauſe in their language ſuch a fort was called *Borge*, this new militia was called Borgites. By this ſcheme the Mamelucs thought to ſecure the ſovereignty to their own body, in which it might have been eaſily foreſeen they were quite miſtaken. In proceſs of time the old Mamelucs began to grow proud, inſolent, and lazy; the Borgites took the advantage of this indolence, roſe upon their maſters, deprived them of the government, and transferred it to themſelves in the year of the Hejra 784 [h].

The manner in which the Arabs, Saracens, or Moors, ſpread themſelves over the Eaſt.

Theſe, as well as the former, were ſtyled Mamelucs; but the reader will eaſily perceive, that to the latter dynaſty, rather than the firſt, muſt be applied what is commonly ſaid of the Mamelucs by the Chriſtian hiſtorians. Under both dynaſties, but more eſpecially under the laſt, the Indian commerce flouriſhed in Egypt, though they had very little concern in it otherwiſe than as factors; for, on the one ſide, it was managed entirely by the Arabs, and was as abſolutely in the hands of the Chriſtians on the other. One would naturally imagine from the accounts of them in general, that they were not the beſt diſpoſed for ſettling in different parts of the world, with a view to commerce; and yet it appears plainly, that they were at this time actually diſperſed into the moſt diſtant countries in the Indies, nay, and through China itſelf, without the aſſiſtance of force, and where they could not have been led by the ſpirit of ambition. We learn from their own hiſtories, that the Arabs formed their ſettlements four ſeveral ways; by conqueſt, by diſcovery, by purſuing trade, and by miſſions, to eſtabliſh their religion [i]. By the firſt, they poſſeſſed themſelves of all the provinces which

[g] Huet Hiſtoire du Commerce des Anciens, p. 428. [h] D'Herbelot Bibliotheque Orientale, p. 211. [i] See the Abbé Renaudot's Preface prefixed to the Travels of two Arabian Merchants into China.

compoſed

compoſed their vaſt empire; by the ſecond, they fixed themſelves in Africa, down to cape Corientes, among the poor unarmed Cafres, who had it not in their power to prevent them from ſeizing on what parts they judged moſt convenient. Their colonies of Magadoxo, Brava, and Quilao, were ſomewhat in the nature of our's at this day; but not ſo difficult to maintain, becauſe of the proximity of the Red Sea, whence the Arabs had all ſorts of aſſiſtance. By the two remaining methods they ſeated themſelves in all other parts, but more eſpecially by commerce[k]. Theſe voyages were not in thoſe days ſo ſafe and ſo frequent; and therefore merchants were under a neceſſity of making a long ſtay at the principal marts, where they took wives, their religion allowing plurality. Theſe new families quickly produced others in the places of their reſidence; and the princes being ſenſible it was for their advantage to draw the trade of Perſia, Arabia, and at the ſame time of Egypt and Europe, by the Red Sea, into their own ports, theſe merchants met every where with the kindeſt uſage[l]. The idolatrous princes, confirmed in their old ſuperſtitions, were not at all ſcrupulous about religion, but admitted all indifferently; ſo they readily allowed their ſubjects to embrace Mohammediſm, which they preferred to the reſt, becauſe of the hopes theſe Arabs gave them of protection from their ſultans, whoſe power was known in the remoteſt parts of the Eaſt. Even princes themſelves made profeſſion of Mohammediſm in troubleſome times, that the Moors might join them; for, in latter days, they were ſo multiplied, that they inhabited whole cities, and at leaſt a part of the moſt conſiderable. Thus this religion, which, to the lovers of this world, has nothing very inconvenient in it, obtained in many places, and at length received an acceſſion of power, when ſome of its profeſſors being raiſed to the higheſt poſts in the courts of Cambaya and Guzerat, invited a greater number of thoſe Aſiatic Turks, called Rumis, and even ſeized on ſome poſts; as for inſtance, at Diu, from whence they for a long time infeſted the Portugueſe, when they came firſt into theſe parts[m].

Began to propagate their religion amongſt the iſlanders towards the cloſe of the fifteenth century.

By ſuch ſteps the Arabs ſeated themſelves in ſome parts of Malabar; and, by the ſame means, they came to be

[k] Argenſola Conquiſta de las Iſlas Malucas, lib i. [l] L'Abbé Renaudot Diſſertation. ſur l'Entrée des Mahometans dans la Chine, p. 302, 308. [m] P. Lafitau Hiſtoire des Conqueſtes des Portugais, vol. i. p. 394.

very conſiderable upon the coaſt of Malacca. They firſt went thither as merchants; and ſome of them, fixing there, gained many of the idolaters over to Mohammediſm. From Malacca they ſailed round to the Moluccas; and having prevailed on the kings of Tidore and Ternaſe, together with ſeveral others, to embrace their religion, they reaped immenſe advantages from theſe princes. According to the Portugueſe writers, they had not been long ſettled in the Moluccas before their diſcovery of the Indies [n]. Thus in a very ſhort ſpace of time, and without the aſſiſtance of any conſiderable maritime force, the Arabs did more than the Greeks and Romans in the courſe of ſo many ages; and it is highly probable they would have puſhed matters ſtill farther on this ſide, if they had not been hindered by the arrival of the Portugueſe into this part of the world, which put an immediate ſtop to their progreſs, and in proceſs of time weakened them very much. They found, however, ſo long as it laſted, means to make the moſt of their good fortune, and to become the carriers of Europe with reſpect to the commerce of the Eaſt; in ſuch a manner, that they ſhut out all others from navigating thoſe ſeas, and thereby drew an immenſe profit to themſelves. For the Indians brought by land to Cabul, and ſome other places, and by ſea to Baſſora and Siraf, all the commodities of the Indies and China. Furs were introduced into Syria by the provinces of Aderbejan, by Curdiſtan, and other parts more to the north. Great quantities of the ſame they alſo had from the Barbary coaſt, and by the way of the Red Sea, from whence a trade was carried on throughout Egypt. From the ſame places they had gold-duſt, as alſo from the mines of Sofala, brought to them by the Negroes who traded into Egypt by the way of the Deſert, or from port to port quite to the Red Sea, from Ceylon and the Indies. They, by their trade with the Chineſe and Indian merchants, had ſilk, rich ſtuffs, and many other manufactures, drugs, and ſpices [o].

How Alexandria became the centre of their commerce with the Europeans.

They drove an extenſive commerce, by the way of Cairo, with the Venetians, the Genoeſe, the Catalans, and the Greeks, reviving the old mart of Alexandria; which port, though it was far from recovering its former magnificence, grew once more famous, by becoming, what it formerly was, the centre of commerce between the eaſtern

[n] Argenſola Conquiſta de las Iſlas Malucas, lib. i. [o] Mar. Sanud. Secreta Fidel. Crucis. p. i. lib. i. cap. 1.

parts

parts of the world and the west. It is true that the revolutions which happened in the government of Egypt, after it fell under the dominion of the Mohammedans, frequently affected this city to a very great degree; but still the excellence of her port, and the innumerable conveniencies that resulted from the commerce carried on there, to whoever were masters of Egypt, preserved her from total destruction, though in the hands of the most barbarous nations. Before we speak of the last fatal revolution in this country, and the great declension of its commerce, it will be proper to say a few words of another channel, by which the commodities and manufactures of the Indies were for a time brought into Europe; and this for two reasons: first, because it has been in a good measure overlooked; and next, because, experience having shewn it practicable, it is not impossible that it may some time or other be revived [p].

Genoese endeavour to acquire an independent trade with the East Indies.

The reader will remember, that we have already given him a description of the wretched state of the Greek empire for many centuries before its total dissolution, when, in its few gleams of prosperity, it had the Italian states for allies; and, in its frequent turns of adverse fortune, was obliged to suffer them to occupy whatever places (even to the suburbs of the imperial city) which they judged most for their conveniency. Amongst these, none served them better on some occasions, or on others treated them worse, than the Genoese: always esteemed a bold and enterprising people. They had for many ages a large share in the trade of the Greek dominions, and were not so scrupulous as to decline profiting by their commerce with the Mohammedans; yet all this did not satisfy either their ambition or their avarice. They judged it possible, by securing a convenient station in the Black Sea, to gain for their republic a kind of exclusive trade, which might prove very beneficial. This temptation they could not resist; and the place, which they thought proper to seize with this view, was the port of Caffa in Crim Tartary. This country was anciently called the Chersonesus Taurica; and we find this city very often mentioned by old writers under the name of Theudosia. They found it in a tolerable condition; but they improved it exceedingly. They adorned the port, they strengthened and augmented the fortifications; and they embellished the city with many stately edifices, the ruins of which are

A.D. 1266.

[p] Huet Histoire du Commerce des Anciens, chap. 44.

visible

viſible even at this day. All this they were well enabled to do out of the immenſe riches they acquired by the dominion of the Black Sea, which, ſo long as they held Caffa, remained in their hands. At laſt, when they had baſely aſſiſted in bringing the Turks into Europe, and in the reduction of Conſtantinople, againſt all the rules of true policy, as well as dictates of religion, they were deprived of it A. D. 1475, by Mohammed the Great [q].

In order to which, they make themſelves maſters of the city and port of Caffa.

Caffa was then in a very flouriſhing condition, one of the beſt built and richeſt places of its ſize in Europe. It ſtands at the foot of a ſmall hill upon the ſea-ſhore, the buildings extending north and ſouth, with long walls ſtretching on both ſides down to the ſea; ſo that from the port, which is large, ſafe, and commodious, it makes a very agreeable appearance. There is a caſtle on the ſouth ſide, in which the Turkiſh baſhaw reſides with his garriſon. The number of houſes in the place are about four thouſand, of which eight hundred belong to Chriſtians, the reſt to Turks and Tartars; but the former are maſters here, and it is the only place the grand ſignior has in Tartary, of which it is eſteemed, the key. After the Genoeſe were driven from hence as maſters, they ſtill carried on, for a long time, as merchants, a very advantageous commerce with the inhabitants, who, by the way of the Caſpian ſea, found means to enter into a conſiderable trade in ſpices, drugs, cotton, ſilk, and other Indian commodities [r]. At laſt the Turks, growing jealous of the intercourſe of the Genoeſe in theſe parts, abſolutely excluded them, as well as all other nations, from trading to, or even from ſo much as entering into, the Black Sea. This excluſion did not immediately put an end to the commerce between Caffa and Genoa; for the Tartars preſerved ſo ſtrong a ſenſe of the advantages derived from this commerce, that for ſome time they proſecuted it in their own veſſels; and carried the ſpices, and other Indian goods, which they received by caravans from Aſtracan, and which had been brought thither from the oppoſite ſide of the Caſpian ſea, to Genoa [s]; but the Turks, equally diſpleaſed with that as they had been with the former correſpondence, ſoon put an end to this intercourſe likewiſe, and thereby ſecured themſelves from the fears of ſeeing a Chriſtian fleet in thoſe ſeas, at leaſt from Italy.

[q] Abulghazi Bayadur Khan Hiſtoire Genealogique des Tartares, p. vii. chap. 5.
[r] Dictionaire de Commerce, vol. ii. col. 582.
[s] Huet Hiſtoire de Commerce des Anciens.

Yet

Yet Caffa still remains a place of very great trade, and the staple of the Black Sea; insomuch that Sir John Chardin tells us he saw, in the space of forty days, no less than four hundred ships sail in and out of this port. The Venetians, in hopes, perhaps, of reviving in some measure the old trade, procured, at a very large expence, in the year 1672, leave from the Ottoman Porte to send annually a cargo of their manufactures, on board a small squadron of their own, into the Black Sea: but this trade did not last long; for the Jews insinuated so many dangers would arise from permitting this commerce, that in one year's time, notwithstanding the money advanced, the licence was retracted; and thus ended all attempts for retrieving the commerce of the Indies by this route [t].

The present state of that important place.

Let us now return to that great channel of the Indian commerce before the passage by the Cape of Good Hope was found, the port of Alexandria; and let us consider a little of what consequence it was to those by whom it was managed. It was indisputably the true foundation of the extensive trade, the prodigious wealth, and the formidable naval power of the Italian states. It was in consequence of this that they not only drew a considerable balance to themselves from every other nation in Europe; but, which is much more surprising, actually sent their agents to reside in, and manage the trade of other countries [u]. If, in time of peace, money was to be remitted from one country to another, they had the management of it; exchanges were so entirely in their hands, that Lombard and Banker were synonymous terms. If taxes were to be imposed, they were sure to be employed; and this traffick contributed not a little to render them odious in Spain, France, and England. In time of war they furnished both parties with ships, because other nations had them not; and the reason why other nations had them not, was, that these Italian states were in possession of all the commerce of the Mediterranean, and not only supplied, but carried their goods to most foreign markets [x]. We say most, and not all; because the Hanse Towns were, in those days very powerful, and had a great deal of shipping; but then it is to be considered, that the prosperity of these northern cities arose chiefly from their trade to Italy, and their carrying thither cargoes collected from

The advantages derived to the state of Venice by her exclusive possession of this trade.

[t] Histoire de Venice, p. 391.

[u] Gerard Malines Lex Mercatoria, lib. xi. cap. 13.

[x] Sir William Monson's Naval Tracts.

different

different countries, and returning into the North with thoſe kind of goods and manufactures which they obtained by that channel which has been ſo often mentioned [y]. There is, therefore, nothing in nature clearer than that this commerce gave the ſuperiority in wealth and naval power to thoſe who enjoyed it before the Portugueſe; to the Portugueſe, in conſequence of their ſupplanting them; and to every other nation that, following the lights, and improving on the example of the Portugueſe, has ſent fleets, and eſtabliſhed colonies in the Indies.

We need not, therefore, be at all ſurpriſed that the Italian ſtates expreſſed not barely uneaſineſs and diſpleaſure, but even paſſion and reſentment, when, from the paſſage of the Portugueſe to the Indies by ſea directly, they ſaw themſelves in danger of loſing, in a great meaſure, that trade, which, of all others, it imported them moſt to keep. The Venetians particularly took this matter ſo much to heart, that they offered to ſupply the Mohammedan prince with naval and military ſtores, to be employed in driving the Chriſtians out of India. And if he had purſued his own intereſt with any proportion of that vigour uſed by them in proſecuting their's, in all probability he would have ſucceeded, ſince, at that juncture, the naval power of the Mohammedans in the Indian ſeas was incomparably greater than any the crown of Portugal could have ſent thither [z].

How this ſcheme failed them.

The ſoltân of Egypt found his dominions but ill provided for a war; though violently ſolicited by thoſe of his own faith in the Indies, and by thoſe who preferred gain to any faith in Europe, yet, frightened with the apprehenſions of bringing all Chriſtendom upon him if he attacked the Portugueſe, he loſt that ſhort opportunity, in which, with any probability of ſucceſs, they might have been attacked. His ſucceſſor, Thomam Bey, was the laſt monarch of the ſecond dynaſty of the Mamelucs; and periſhed, together with their principality, under the victorious arms of the firſt Ottoman emperor Selim [a]. By theſe means Egypt was annexed to the Turkiſh empire, of which it has continued a province ever ſince; but the confuſion which naturally attends a violent revolution prevented any interruption from being given to the Portugueſe by that power which was moſt able to oppoſe them.

[y] Eſſai ſur la Marine et ſur la Commerce, p. 177. [z] Hiſtoire de l'Empire Ottom. part ii. lib. i. [a] Vannel Hiſtoire des Turcs, tom. ii. p. 277.

Thus

Thus the commerce of Alexandria received its last and most fatal blow; not that the port is absolutely deserted, or that ships from Venice and other places do not trade thither, and even for Indian commodities to this day, but not to any considerable amount. The commerce of Alexandria, and the power of the Italian states, have been sinking ever since; not in the same proportion indeed, because the Venetians have been assisted by the wisest counsels in Europe, and the Turks have continued without any policy at all [b].

The prodigious profits accruing from this commerce to Egypt.

It will certainly be acceptable to the curious reader if, after discoursing so long on the profits which accrued to the people of Egypt, by their having this commerce for so many ages fixt, as it were, to their country, we should attempt to form some computation, or, to speak with greater propriety, indicate certain circumstances, which may enable us to form some notion of the different state of the affairs of this people while that trade was in their hands. As to the immense wealth of the Egyptians in the earliest times, it would require more time and room than we have to spare, to give so much as a concise account of it. Diodorus Siculus speaks of three thousand cities in that country, where now it would be very difficult to find the tenth part of as many towns. Under the Romans they were so rich, that it was a point of policy to oppress them; and after the defeat of Zenobia, there was a single merchant of Alexandria who undertook to raise and pay an army out of the profits of his trade [c]. The Greek emperors drew from thence prodigious tributes; and yet the Arabian khâlifs of Egypt found their subjects in so good circumstances, as to screw their revenues up to three hundred millions of crowns. Under the first dynasty of the Mamelucs Egypt seemed to decline; but under the last trade flourished; and though the people became wanton and weak, yet both the subject and government were wealthy. The last soltân of Egypt but one gave twenty millions of ducats, as a bounty to the soldiers, upon his election [d]; and yet at this day the Turks levy but three millions, and are hardly ever without a civil war upon their hands, from the difficulty with which this inconsiderable sum is raised. Yet the ancient fertility of Egypt remains; it is still extremely populous, it enjoys to this hour the advantage of

[b] Description de l'Egypte, du Monsieur Maillet, p. 131. [c] Zosim. lib. i. Vopisc. in Vit. Aurelian. [d] D'Herbelot Bibliotheque Orientale, p. 1031.

its

its moſt happy ſituation; what then can be the reaſon of this amazing alteration? Why, it is fallen under the government of Turks, who prefer immediate profit to every thing; and it has loſt the Indian trade, which is a convincing argument that its prodigious wealth in ancient times flowed in a great meaſure from that commerce.

SECT. III.

The Hiſtory of the Diſcoveries, Conqueſts, and Eſtabliſhments made by the Portugueſe in the Eaſt Indies.

By what means the Portugueſe were induced to undertake Expeditions on the Coaſt of Africa; the Series of theſe Expeditions, and the long-wiſhed-for Diſcovery and Doubling of the Cape of Good Hope.

Bad effects of the Holy War ſerviceable to Chriſtendom.

THE Holy War, as it was called, in which moſt of the Chriſtian princes of Europe were, by the ſolicitations of ſeveral popes, engaged to reſcue the city of Jeruſalem, and the country of Paleſtine, out of the hands of the Infidels, gave the firſt opening for renewing a direct correſpondence between the people of Europe and thoſe who inhabited the remoteſt countries of the Eaſt [e]. There is no doubt that a violent ſpirit of ambition, together with a mixture of private views and political intrigue, had a great ſhare in exciting and ſupporting this long and bloody war, which, in ſome reſpects, had very untoward conſequences with regard to thoſe countries in Europe, whoſe monarchs, to ſignalize their courage, and to acquire the then faſhionable reputation of martial piety, left their dominions expoſed to many inconveniencies, while, with a vaſt expence of blood and treaſure, they were engaged in expeditions which promiſed little, and which produced ſtill leſs [f]. But the conſequences of the holy war were highly beneficial to Chriſtendom; it gave a check to the Mohammedan power when at its height; it taught the European princes the value of a naval force; and, by affording them an opportunity of gaining a true knowlege of the ſituation, produce, and ſtate of the great powers in Aſia, made way for thoſe diſcoveries and conqueſts which have been ſince attended with ſuch mighty advantages. It

[e] Purchas's Pilgrim, book viii.

[f] Mezeray Abregé de l'Hiſtoire de France, tom. ii. p. 535.

muſt

must be allowed that these consequences followed at a great distance of time, when those expeditions were all laid aside; but this delay derogates not at all from the truth of our assertion, as will hereafter fully appear [g]. Besides, it was proposed and pointed out at the very time by a Venetian, who wrote a learned and judicious treatise upon the subject, which, though in that season it might have little or no effect, yet remains an incontestible proof that those beneficial consequences were foreseen long before they were either felt or understood [h].

Jenghîz Khân's conquests revived the correspondence between the western and eastern parts.

Another great event contributed not a little to the same purpose. This was the amazing irruption of the great Tartar monarch Jenghîz Khân, who, in the space of twenty-five years, from being the inconsiderable and unknown head of a tribe of his own nation, became the greatest and most famous prince of his time; and, all things considered, perhaps of any time. He died in the year 1227, after having overturned the ancient empire of China, made himself master of the best part of the Indies, and subverted the great monarchies which the Mohammedans had erected in Persia and Chaldea [i]. His immediate successors extended their dominions still farther; and having thus changed the face of affairs in the East entirely, we need not at all wonder that the Christian princes, who were then warmly engaged in the Holy War, were very desirous of procuring the friendship of these new conquerors [k]. It was this disposition that produced the embassies that were soon after sent into Great Tartary; and as, according to the genius of those times, these were chiefly managed by monks, it was from the accounts they gave of their travels that the Europeans came to have any distinct knowlege of the remoter parts of Asia; and indeed, except this, hardly any thing resulted from their negociations.

Voyages of Du Plant Carpin and Rubruquis into Grand Tartary.

The first of these ambassadors, or rather agents, was a Franciscan, one John Du Plant Carpin, who, with five or six other monks, carried letters from pope Innocent IV. to the grand khan of Tartary, in favour of the Christians inhabiting in his dominions. He made this journey in the year 1246; and, at his return, wrote an account of his travels, in which he has inserted many ridiculous and ab-

[g] P. Gerberon Histoire des Tartares. [h] Sanudo in Libro cui tit. Secreta Fidelium Crucis. [i] Petis de la Croix Histoire de Ginis-Khan. [k] Abulghazi Bayadur Khan Histoire Genealogique des Tartares, part iii. chap. 1.

surd

ſurd things upon hearſay; but what he reports of his own knowlege ſeems agreeable enough to truth, but contains nothing very conſiderable[l]. Seven years after this event, the French king, St. Lewis, ſent William Rubruquis to eſtabliſh, if poſſible, an amicable correſpondence with that monarch[m]. He embarked at Conſtantinople, and having paſſed the Black Sea, traverſed the vaſt country of Tartary; and having done as much as could be expected from him, returned by another route. Having paſſed the river Euphrates, he continued his journey to Tripoly in Syria, from whence he wrote to the king his maſter, and afterwards compoſed a large account of his whole journey, which was very faithful, very exact, and gave a juſt notion of the Tartars and their conqueſts. It does not appear that either of theſe pieces could have been of any great uſe towards facilitating a correſpondence between the weſtern parts of Europe and the interior parts of Aſia; but the humour of travelling and ſeeing ſtrange places began ſtrongly to prevail, inſomuch that ſeveral, moved partly by curioſity, and partly from the hopes of making their fortune at the court of the Tartar emperor, reſolved to run the riſk of viſiting his dominions[n]. To this humour we owe the hiſtory of Marco Polo, to whom the Europeans are indebted for the firſt clear and diſtinct account of the utmoſt limits of Aſia. His diſcoveries were of ſuch importance, and were attended with conſequences of ſuch a nature, that the reader will be certainly pleaſed to meet with a ſhort account of him, his family, and adventures.

The wonderful diſcoveries of Marco Polo, and the diſtant travels of Sir John Mandeville.

Signior Nicolo Polo, the father of Marco, and his brother ſignior Maffio, began their travels from Conſtantinople in the year 1250; and having proceeded to the court of the grand khân of Tartary, reſided there for many years. They returned to Venice, about the year 1269, where they found the wife of ſignior Nicolo deceaſed, and her ſon, of whom ſhe was left big at the time of their departure, a well accompliſhed youth of nineteen years of age[o]. Him they carried back to the court of the khân; and, after having ſpent twenty-ſix years more in that country, returned again to Venice, in the year 1295. A ſhort time after his return, Marco Polo ſerving his country at ſea againſt the Genoeſe, his galley, in a great naval engagement, was ſunk, and himſelf taken priſoner, and

[l] Hackluyt's Voyages, vol. i. p. 21. [m] Itinerarium Fratris Willielmi de Rubruquis ad Partes Orientales, 4to. [n] Guyon Hiſtoire des Indes Orientales, p. i. cap. 9. [o] Ramuſio, vol. ii. Purchas's Pilgrims, vol. iii.

carried

carried to Genoa. He remained there many years in confinement; and, as well to amuſe his melancholy, as to gratify thoſe who deſired it from him, he ſent for his notes from Venice, and compoſed the hiſtory of his travels. In this work there are, without doubt, many ſtrange circumſtances, and ſome falſehoods, which he related from hearſay; but what he wrote from his own knowlege is both curious and true. He not only gave better accounts of China than had been before received; but likewiſe furniſhed a deſcription of Japan, of many of the iſlands of the Eaſt Indies, of Madagaſcar, and the coaſts of Africa; ſo that from his work it might be eaſily collected, that a direct paſſage by ſea to the Indies was not only poſſible, but practicable. Ayton, or Haiton, king of Armenia [p], after he had traverſed many of the moſt remarkable countries in the Eaſt, about the year 1305 retired to Cyprus, and there took the habit of a monk; after which ſtep he wrote, or cauſed to be written, a kind of hiſtory of the empire of the Tartars; to which he added the principal obſervations made by him in his travels, which, in reſpect as well to the dignity of the author as to the many new and ſurpriſing particulars which they contain, were much eſteemed, and univerſally read. Our countryman Sir John Mandevile, a man of a good family, and liberal education, who had applied himſelf to the ſtudy of phyſic, being very deſirous of viſiting remote countries, and more eſpecially thoſe of which he had read ſuch ſtrange things in ancient authors, ſet out on this deſign in the year 1332, and ſpent no leſs than thirty-four years in his peregrinations through Armenia, Egypt, Lybia, Arabia, Syria, Media, Meſopotamia, Perſia, Grand Tartary, and other countries, of which he wrote an account, which has been very differently cenſured; ſome eſteeming it an excellent piece, and others looking upon it as a heap of fables and falſehood [q]. The truth is, that his learning, his curioſity, and his deſire to excite the wonder of his readers, have had a very bad effect upon his work, into which he has thruſt every thing that he had either read or heard, as well as what he had ſeen: but whatever may be thought of his travels

[p] Inſerted alſo in the Collections of Ramuſio, Purchas, and Harris. [q] His Travels, or rather extracts from them, are to be found in various collections; but the only genuine edition bears this title, the Voiage and Travaile of Sir John Maundevile, Knight, which treateth of the Way to Hieruſalem, and of Marvayles of Inde, with other Ilaunds and Countryes. From an original MS. in the Cotton library; 8vo. 1727.

now, they were highly valued at the time when they appeared, and had a considerable effect in supporting this humour of visiting remote countries, which must have been strong enough before, since, as he tells us in the relation of his travels, the world was amused in his youth with the story of a man who had gone round the world [r]; upon which he makes some remarks, which shew him plainly to have been a man of parts, and no despicable mathematician for those times.

The conquests made by Timur, or Tamerlane, in the East, favourable to the Christians.

There was yet another great event that happened towards the close of the fourteenth century, which operated powerfully towards removing those obstacles the Europeans would undoubtedly have met with upon their coming into the Indies; whereas the reader will see they found but a feeble resistance, most of the nations they had to deal with being hardly recovered from former confusions. This event was the second irruption of the Tartars under Timur Bek, or, as our histories call him, Tamerlane, who resolved, though perhaps his rights were not extremely well founded, to vindicate the title derived to him from his ancestor Jenghîz Khân; a design which he fortunately accomplished, becoming in process of time master of the greater part of Asia, which he divided amongst his sons, leaving to his third, Miracha, the empire of the Indies, with other territories; and though part of these was afterwards lost, yet the Indies remain in the possession of his posterity to this day [s]. By this time the humour of travelling, and seeking adventures in the East, had prevailed so much in Europe, that several persons of courage, and some of good families, but for the most part Italians, were in Tamerlane's army, and did him good service [t]. It must be acknowleged, that, even after so very great a blow given to the Turkish power by this conqueror, the Ottomans soon recovered themselves, and made a great impression upon Europe, some parts of which were also invaded and subdued by the Tartars; yet nevertheless it may be affirmed, that about this time that spirit sprung up of opposing the Mohammedans by land and sea, which soon after drove them out of Spain, gave a check to their conquests in the North, and has kept their power within bounds in most places ever since; to which nothing has contributed so much as destroying that strength they were forming, and

[r] Maundevile's Travels, p. 222. [s] D'Herbelot Bibliotheque Orientale, au mot Timur, et autres. [t] Cherefedin Ali Histoire de Timur Bek.

indeed

indeed had in part formed, through the maritime provinces and iſlands of India.

The Portugueſe under the reign of John I. began in earneſt to make diſcoveries.

As from the ſeveral means before mentioned, as well as other leſſer incidents, of which we have not room to take notice, there was a general report ſpread over Europe of the great riches of the Eaſt, ſo it created an inclination in ſeveral princes and ſtates to try whether ſome method might not be found for correſponding with them by ſea. Amongſt theſe there was none thought ſo ſeriouſly of raiſing a naval force, and employing it for augmenting his revenues, and extending his dominions, as king John I. of Portugal [u]. He was a prince whom his courage and conduct had placed upon the throne, being the natural ſon of the monarch he ſucceeded; but, notwithſtanding this flaw in his title, and ſome others in his government, he had as many great qualities as any perſon in his rank at that time, which made him beloved by his ſubjects, and reſpected by his neighbours. His aſſuming the crown had involved him at once in a civil and foreign war; out of which being extricated by the aſſiſtance of John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaſter, whoſe daughter Philippa he married, and by whom he had eight children, he was deſirous of employing the brave men and buſy ſpirits, naturally produced in ſuch ſtirring times, in ſuch a manner, as to hinder their diſturbing that tranquility which had been ſo lately reſtored to his dominions [w]. He contrived, therefore, ſeveral expeditions for diſcoveries; in one of which the iſland of Madeira was again found, which had been long before viſited by Edward Macham, an Engliſhman, who had fled thither with his miſtreſs; and, ſhe dying there, he built a little chapel over her grave, which proved at once a monument to the lady, and of his diſcovery, as the Portugueſe writers unanimouſly allow (E). This event,

[u] Emanuel de Faria y Souſa Epitome de las Hiſtorias Portugueſas, lib. iv. cap. 1.

[w] Hiſtoire de Portugal, p. 391.

(E) The time when this diſcovery was made is not a little uncertain; according to one writer, it muſt have been about 1344, but, according to others, later. The ſubſtance of the relation, than which nothing can be better atteſted, is this: Edward Macham, on board an Engliſh ſhip bound to Spain, with a lady he had ſtolen, was by a ſtorm driven to ſea, and carried to the iſland of Madeira, then deſert, and overgrown with wood. He landed with his miſtreſs, who was much indiſpoſed, and ſome few other perſons, provided for her with as much conveniency as he could, in which thoſe who

event, which happened in 1419, and the finding Puerto Santo two years before, encouraged captain Yanez to double cape Bojador, which had never been attempted before. King John also transported a great army into Africa, where he made himself master of the fortress of Ceuta in a few days, and projected great schemes, the execution of which, however, he left to his successor [x].

Succinct characters of the five princes his sons, who promoted these discoveries.

As Providence had been pleased to bless this great and wise prince with five sons, he neglected nothing that might improve this blessing in respect to their education. We have said that he had formed great designs, and he had hopes that his sons might live to execute them with as much success as he had shewn prudence in contriving them. His eldest son Edward, whom, after the English custom, he caused to be styled prince of Portugal, he took the pains of instructing in the arts of government, and particularly in those maxims which he thought most conducive to the welfare of his dominions. His second son Don Pedro had at once very quick parts and a very solid understanding, which enabled him, under the eye of

[x] Manuel de Faria y Sousa, lib. iv. cap. 3.

were with him assisted; but while they were thus employed, the ship put to sea and left them. How long they remained upon this island is uncertain; but the lady dying, Macham, having interred her body in a homely chapel, which he had raised to the honour of the holy Jesus, erected a monument to her memory, on which he inscribed their names, and these particulars of their story. After this, he and his companions cut down a large tree, which they hollowed into a kind of canoe; and, embarking on board it, reached, with much difficulty, the opposite coast of Africa, where they were seized by the natives, and presented to their king, who sent them as a present to the king of Castile. This affair made so great a noise, that it occasioned the fitting out of those vessels by which the Canaries were discovered, as some say in 1395; but, as others relate, in 1405. However, those discoverers met not with the island where Macham had been, which was found again, as we have mentioned in the text, in 1419, by John Gonzales Zarco, and Tristram Vas Teixera, who, from its being overgrown with wood, gave it the name of Madeira, which the Spaniards write Madera; and meeting with the chapel and tomb before mentioned, they bestowed upon the bay, on the side of which it stood, the name of Machico, in honour of the original discoverer of this island (1).

(1) J. de Barros, Decad. 1. lib. i. cap. 3.

his

his father, to acquire moſt branches of learning while he was very young; and, for his farther improvement, the king ſent him with an equipage, ſuitable to his quality, to viſit ſeveral parts of Europe; after which expedition, he made a tour into Aſia and Africa [y]. It may be inferred from hence, that his father relied chiefly upon him in reference to the diſcoveries and foreign conqueſts he had projected; but that young prince, being obliged to turn his thoughts early to civil affairs, contented himſelf with giving all the lights, derived from experience and learning, to his younger brother Don Henry, of whom we ſhall ſpeak more at large hereafter. We ſhall here therefore only obſerve, that, from his very infancy, that prince was addicted to the ſtudy of the mathematics, took great delight in converſing with men of letters, but more eſpecially ſuch as underſtood coſmography and aſtronomy, which were his favourite ſtudies [z]. He had a penetrating genius, and a temper calm and ſedate; an extreme paſſion for the glory of his country, without any mixture of ambition, unleſs we beſtow that name upon his earneſt deſire to do good, agreeable to the French motto he took, "Talent de bienfaire," which he cauſed to be inſcribed under the arms of Portugal, on the croſſes and forts erected in the places diſcovered at his expence. He was maſter of the order of Chriſt, and kept his court at Sagres, at a ſmall diſtance from cape St. Vincent, in the kingdom of Algarve. Don John, the fourth ſon, was maſter of the order of St. James; Don Ferdinand, the youngeſt, was maſter of the order of Avis, which had been his father's firſt title; and, after his deceaſe, was ſtyled the martyr, upon account of his dying a priſoner among the Moors [a].

What objections were raiſed againſt the infant Don Henry's conduct in this reſpect.

Prince Edward ſucceeded his father on the throne of Portugal. In the year 1433 he undertook an expedition againſt Tangier, which proved unſucceſsful, and where his brother Don Ferdinand was taken priſoner, for whoſe ranſom the Moors demanded the fortreſs of Ceuta; which the king being unwilling to part with, that unfortunate prince ſpent the remainder of his days in captivity. King Edward died September the 9th, 1438, leaving behind him two ſons, both very young [b]. The eldeſt of theſe,

[y] Hiſtoire de Portugal, p. 413. [z] Lafitau Hiſtoire des Conquetes des Portuguais dans le Nouveau Monde, vol. i. p. 8, 9. Manuel de Faria y Souſa, lib. iv. cap 3. [a] Hiſtoire de Portugal, p. 419. [b] Manuel de Faria y Souſa, lib. iv. cap. 4.

Don Alonzo, succeeding to the crown, his uncle Don Pedro was declared regent, yet not without great opposition; which obliged him, though naturally inclined to study, and the love of discoveries, to devolve all cares of this sort upon his brother Don Henry, duke of Viseo, to whom, however, while in power, he gave all the assistance he could. It is the more necessary to make this observation, because, in the former reign, the enterprizes of that worthy person were looked upon with a jealous, or at least an envious eye. It was suggested to king Edward, that the affairs of the Portuguese nation, did not by any means admit the hazarding ships and men in expeditions of an uncertain nature, the very success of which would be naturally productive of new and greater enterprizes, altogether improper, since the country was already exhausted by the unfortunate attempt upon Africa, for advising of which this prince was also blamed; but, after the accession of his nephew Don Alonzo, he was freed from these restraints, and suffered to employ his own revenues according to his own mind. Yet the domestic troubles which ensued very much impeded his progress; for, when Don Alonzo came to take the reins of government into his own hands, he in a very short time quarrelled with his uncle Don Pedro; and a civil war broke out, in which that great and gallant prince, who had distinguished himself both by his sword and by his pen, was killed in the field [c], to the great regret of those who sincerely wished well to Portugal, and who now discerned that it was much better to employ high and restless spirits in expeditions for the service of their country, than to afford them opportunities of disturbing its peace.

Discoveries of the infant Don Henry recapitulated for forty years.

The duke of Viseo was endowed with all the qualities that distinguish heroes. He had shewn his courage in the wars against the Moors; but he thought the most proper object of valour was, the facing those dangers that hinder such designs as may be beneficial to the human species. He resolved, therefore, in order to gratify his passion for discoveries, to make himself master of the Canaries, then in the hands of Maciot de Bethancourt, who held them from the king of Castile; and who, for a consideration, made them over to prince Henry about the year 1406 [d]. He sent Ferdinand de Castro to take possession of them; and, conceiving that they might be of

[c] Lafitau Histoire des Conquetes des Portuguais, vol. i. p. 35.
[d] Galvano's Discoveries.

use

uſe in the diſcovery of the coaſts of Africa, which were then very little known, he began about the year 1410 to fit out ſhips, admitting Spaniards, and others who were ſkilled in navigation, into his ſervice for that purpoſe. The limits of the ſouth-weſt part of Africa, at that time known to the Portugueſe, was a cape running out from the foot of mount Atlas, the proper name of which was Chaunor, but called by the ſeamen Cape Non, ſituated in the latitude (as it was then eſteemed) of 28 deg. 10 min. north; and theſe veſſels proceeded beyond that, along the coaſt, to Cape Bojadore, in twenty-ſix degrees north latitude, but they had not the courage to double this promontory. In 1418 Triſtan Vaz diſcovered the iſland of Porto Santo; and gave it that name, becauſe he firſt ſaw it on the feaſt of All Saints. The next year the Portugueſe diſcovered the iſland of Madeira, which, as we have obſerved, received its name from its being covered with wood. In 1439 a Portugueſe captain doubled Cape Bojadore, which ſome think Ptolemy called Cape Canarea. The next year they ſailed as high as Cape Blanco, in the latitude of 20 deg. ſo that they diſcovered about eight degrees in the firſt forty years [e].

An account of the diſcoveries made by the Portugueſe in the next forty years.

In 1446 Nuno Triſtan doubled Cape Verd, in the latitude of 14 deg. 40 min. In 1448, in the ſpring, Don Gonzalo Vallo ſailed to the Açores, or *The Hawk Iſlands*, from the word *açor*, which in the Spaniſh language ſignifies *a hawk* They were at that time uninhabited, and were ſettled by this commander, who did not, however, viſit the iſlands of Florez and Corvo, which, being diſcovered and planted by Flemings, were from thence called the Flemiſh Iſlands [f]. In the year 1449 the iſlands of Cape Verd were diſcovered for the infant Don Henry. The firſt of theſe was called the Iſland of May, becauſe they landed on May-day; and at the ſame time they beſtowed the names of St. James and St. Philip on two of thoſe iſlands, the reſt not being viſited till the year 1460 [g]. The progreſs made by the infant Don Henry gave great ſatisfaction to the princes that poſſeſſed the crown of Portugal, inſomuch that king Alphonſo the fourth, or rather the infant Don Pedro, who governed the kingdom during his minority, granted him the iſlands of Porto Santo and Madeira. The infant, however, accord-

[e] Maffæi Hiſt. Indica, p. i. lib. i. cap. 3. [f] Emanuel de Faria y Souſa Epitome de las Hiſtorias Portugueſas, lib. iv. cap. 6. Galvano's Diſcoveries.

ing to the custom of those times, was desirous to obtain the sanction of the holy see; and, for that reason, sent Don Ferdinand Lopes d'Azevedo, his ambassador, to pope Martin V. who, as the concession was honourable to the chair of St. Peter, bestowed on the crown of Portugal all that should be discovered on that side, as far as the Indies. This bull was dated in 1444, and confirmed by his successors Eugenius IV. Nicholas V. and Sixtus IV. Prince Henry, who began as well as laid the plan of these discoveries, lived to see them pushed as far as Cape Sierra Leona, within eight degrees of the line; and, being far advanced in years, deceased A. D. 1463 [h]. In 1471, Pedro d'Escovar discovered the island of St. Thomas, and Prince's Island; and, on the first day of the next year, another island on the same coast, which he called Anno Bueno, now called corruptly Annobon. In 1484 Diego Cam discovered the kingdom of Congo; and, having heard of a Christian monarch who reigned in Ethiopia, he magnified his power so much on his return, that John II. took a resolution to send by land two persons he could trust, to gain certain intelligence of this prince, whom he judged to be Presbyter John, and to acquire at the same time the most satisfactory knowlege they could of the state of the Indies; but they returned without performing much, and the king found himself obliged to make a new choice [i].

Covillan and Payva's travels by land into the Indies, and Ethiopia.

The persons charged with this commission, May 7, 1487, were Pedro de Covillan and Alphonso da Payva, who had strict orders to reduce into writing whatever they judged worthy of notice, more especially the situation of places, and the navigation of the coast of Ethiopia, which it was hoped might be made the means of passing by a new route to the Indies [k]. These gentlemen, who spoke Arabic perfectly, went together to Alexandria, and from thence to Cairo, from which city they proceeded to the famous port of Aden in Arabia, where, by conversing with traders of all nations, and from all parts of the Indies, they learned many things of great consequence. Here they resolved, that while one made a tour through the Indies, the other should go to the emperor of Ethiopia. Accordingly Pedro de Covillan went to the Indies; and, having made a very exact map of the coasts of that country, he crossed the

[h] Spond. Ann. Ecc. ad an. 1420. n. 12. [i] Maffæi Hist. Indica, p. i. lib. i. cap. 5. [k] J. de Barros, Decad. i. lib. iii. cap. 5.

Arabian

Arabian ſea to Africa, and, after having viſited moſt of the principal ports there, came to Sofala, fully perſuaded, as well from the reaſon of the thing, as from the concurring opinions of the ſeamen he converſed with, that a ſhort and eaſy paſſage might be found round the continent of Africa into the Indies [l]. He made the beſt of his way to Cairo, very well pleaſed with what he had already learned, as expecting there to meet his companion; but being informed, on his arrival, that the unfortunate Alphonſo de Payva had been murdered on the road to Ethiopia, he reſolved to acquaint the king with the diſcoveries he had made, by letter, and to continue his journey into Ethiopia, that, at his return to Portugal, he might be able to ſatisfy the king in every reſpect [m]. He executed this journey with the ſame good fortune that had attended him hitherto; and was perfectly well received by Alexander, at that time emperor of Abyſſinia, who was extremely well pleaſed with the offers made him, and promiſed to ſend Pedro de Covillan back again with letters to the king his maſter; but the emperor dying ſuddenly, his ſucceſſor Nahu treated our Portugueſe not only with coldneſs and diſreſpect, but with the greateſt cruelty, refuſing him leave to return home, and keeping him at his court as a priſoner for many years, ſo that in Portugal they concluded him dead, though he lived afterwards to recover his liberty (F).

But, while this new method of inquiring by travels over land was purſued, the other plainer method of puſhing

[l] Maffæi Hiſt. Indica, p. i. lib. i. cap. 19. [m] P. Lafitau Hiſtoire des Conquetes des Portuguais, vol. i. p. 63.

(F) While theſe gentlemen were thus employed, the king ſent two Jews into the Indies, from whom he received a diſtinct account of the prodigious commerce carried on in the iſland of Ormuz; of the route of the caravans that went from Balſora to Aleppo, with the nature, the quantity, and the value, of the merchandize, that one year with another was this way conveyed; which account was very pleaſing to the king, who ſent them back with orders to meet Don Pedro de Covillan, who received from them the king's direction to repair to Ethiopia. He is reported to have been the firſt Portugueſe that entered the Indies; and it was from his journal, ſent by the Jews, that the king his maſter was fully perſuaded his endeavours would be attended with ſucceſs. This Don Pedro remained a kind of priſoner in Ethiopia to the year 1520 (1).

(1) Maffæi Hiſt. Indica, p. i. lib. i. cap. 11.

gradually,

Captain Diaz doubles Cabo del Bueno Esperanza, and shews the passage opening to Asia.

gradually, though slowly, the discoveries made along the coast, was not neglected For the same John II. employed Bartholomew Diaz, a person remarkable for prudence, and skill in navigation, as well as for invincible courage, to proceed along the south coast of Africa. This he accordingly traced in the year 1486, till arriving in sight of a high cape, he met with very bad weather, and lost the company of his victualling bark; upon which his crew mutinied, complaining that it was too much to endure at once the hardships of the sea and of famine. But captain Diaz, representing to them that the former was not to be escaped by going back, and that the only means they had of preventing the latter, was, to proceed till they came to some place where they could get refreshments, he prevailed upon them to double this cape, and to sail a good way beyond it, to a place where he had erected a pillar of stone. Having obtained a small supply, he returned, and in his passage homewards met with his bark, in which, of nine men that he left, three only survived, and of these, Ferdinand Colazzo died with joy at the first sight of his captain [n]. He continued his voyage safely to Lisbon, where he arrived in December, 1487, sixteen months and seven days after his setting out, having discovered in that time above one thousand miles along the coast. He gave the king his master a full account of all that had happened; and insisted particularly on the difficulty with which he had doubled that stupendous promontory, which he thought fit to call Cabo Tormentoso, that is, the *Tempestuous Cape:* but the king, who, from the lights he had received from Covillan's letters, was enabled to form a right judgment of the importance of this discovery, styled it Cabo del Bueno Esperanza, or, the *Cape of Good Hope*, which name it has ever since retained; for he saw clearly, from the agreement between these accounts, that the passage was open, and that there wanted but one voyage more to finish what they had so much desired, namely, the finding a direct passage by sea to the East Indies [o]. But, while King John meditated this great design, and busied himself in contriving the means of executing it in such a manner as might be most honourable to himself, and advantageous for his subjects, the great Ruler of all things disposed of him otherwise, by calling him out of this life.

[n] Purchas Pilgrims, vol. i. p. 7. Maffæi Hist. Indica, p. i. lib. i. cap. 20. [o] Osor. de Reb. Eman. lib. i. Maffæi Hist. Indica, p. i. lib. i cap. 17. P. Lafitau Histoire des Conquetes des Portuguais, vol. i. p. 68.

The

The Voyage of Vaſquez de Gama to the Coaſt of Malabar; the Diſputes and Wars with the Samorin; and the Progreſs of the Portugueſe Affairs, to the ſending over the Firſt Viceroy.

THIS wiſe and good king, John II. who, for his virtues, was ſurnamed the Perfect Prince, dying, October the 25th, 1495, without lawful iſſue, left the crown to Don Emanuel, the ſon of Don Ferdinand, duke of Viſeo, to whom of right it belonged. This prince ſucceeded, in the flower of his age, being about twenty-ſeven, and poſſeſſed moſt of thoſe qualities worthy of a monarch. He had great parts, much penetration, and an excellent judgment; yet ſo diffident of his own abilities, that, foreſeeing the execution of his predeceſſor's projects would be attended with larger expences than hitherto they had been, he declined proſecuting them, without the advice of his council, before whom he laid all the informations that either himſelf or King John had received [p]. The Portugueſe ſtateſmen were divided in their opinions; for ſome preſſed the king to tread in the footſteps of his anceſtors, and to complete with glory what they had begun; while others as vehemently oppoſed his purſuit of this deſign; neither did each party fail of advancing very plauſible arguments, in maintenance of their propoſal. Such as were deſirous that this new navigation might be attempted, obſerved, that the trade to the Indies had been the ſource of power and riches to every empire that had been poſſeſſed of it: that Providence ſeemed to have thrown it into the hands of their nation in ſuch a manner, that it would not only be diſadvantageous, but diſhonourable to refuſe it: that all difficulties were in a manner already overcome; ſo that there remained ſcarce any thing, but going to take poſſeſſion of thoſe fine countries, and that vaſt wealth which, though all the world thirſted after, none but themſelves knew how to reach: that the engroſſing ſo rich a trade to Portugal would balance their ſmall extent of territory, and enable the king's ſubjects to make as great a figure as the inhabitants of kingdoms much more potent in appearance: that, in fine, there were as many dangers to be apprehended from abandoning this deſign, as benefits to be expected by purſuing it; ſince, in all probability, their ambitious neighbours the Spaniards would

Arguments uſed to perſuade King Emanuel to perſiſt in proſecuting diſcoveries.

[p] Emanuel de Faria y Souſa Epitome de las Hiſtorias Portugueſas, lib. iv. cap. 9.

under-

undertake, and accomplish this great work, the wealth derived from which would enable them to execute with ease, whatever they might be prompted to by their boundless ambition.

Other reasons for discontinuing them, as prejudicial to Portugal.

On the other side, it was alledged, that there were many things more apparently necessary to the kingdom, than such long, such expensive, and such uncertain expeditions; since there were several large tracts of land, and particularly that spacious plain between the Ebro and the Tagus, not properly cultivated, the improvement of which would free them from the necessity of depending for their daily bread upon strangers: that their country was but thinly peopled, at least in proportion to the numbers it might be able to maintain, if, instead of maritime expeditions, they turned their thoughts towards making the most of what was in their power; so that it was very unreasonable to consume numbers of men that might be immediately useful to their country, for the sake of distant, and perhaps fallacious, expectations: that all discoveries and conquests hitherto had furnished only a few negroes, elephants teeth, strange birds, and other curiosities; in procuring which they had suffered many shipwrecks, and run the hazard of many more: that, for a century together, they had been amused with these golden dreams, and therefore it was high time to awake from this delusion: that the kings his predecessors had been at vast expences, to very little purpose, in pursuit of the like designs; and that this ought to render him not only the more cautious in following their example, but oblige him also to consider the dangerous consequences of running an exhausted nation into disbursements she was unable to bear: that besides, the success of the undertaking might bring such demands upon the crown of Portugal, as would greatly exceed her force; so that, perhaps, her interests at home might come to be sacrificed to those abroad[9]. Don Emanuel, having maturely considered what had been offered on both sides, resolved to select so much of either opinion, as might conduce most to his own reputation, the completing his predecessors scheme, and the welfare of his subjects.

A.D. 1494.

Vasquez da Gama proceeds, by the Cape of Good Hope, to the Indies.

It was in consequence of this resolution, that in the spring of the second year, he ordered four ships to be equipped; three of which were armed vessels, with some

[9] P. Lafitau Histoire des Conquestes des Portugais, vol. i. p. 94, 95.

pieces

pieces of cannon on board, and the fourth a ſmall ſtore-ſhip. We may be ſure that theſe veſſels were not very conſiderable, ſince, in the whole, there were on board but one hundred and ſixty ſoldiers and ſeamen. The perſon choſen to command them was Don Vaſquez, or Vaſco da Gama, a man of very high quality, who poſſeſſed all the talents neceſſary for ſuch an employment. On the 9th of July, he embarked on board the Gabriel, which was the admiral, of the burthen of a hundred and twenty tons, and the ſame day put to ſea. On the 3d of Auguſt, he left the iſland of St. Auguſtine. On the 20th of November, he doubled the Cape of Good Hope. In the beginning of the month of January, he put into a port of Ethiopia. And on the 1ſt of March, he entered that of Mozambique; where the ſcurvy killed many of his people, and where they were in great danger of being deſtroyed, as ſoon as it was known they were Chriſtians. His artillery, however, preſerved him; and from thence he continued his voyage to Mombaza; where he met likewiſe with perfidious dealing. He ſailed from thence to Melinda; the king of which country received him with civility, and promiſed to ſend an ambaſſador to king Emanuel, when they returned to Portugal. Don Vaſquez, in obedience to his inſtructions, ſailed from thence for the coaſt of Malabar; and arriving at Calicut, firſt heard of a puiſſant monarch in thoſe parts, ſtyled the Samorin. There he met, very unexpectedly, with an extraordinary act of friendſhip; for on his officers firſt going on ſhore, they were met by a Moor of Tunis, whoſe name was Monzaida, who knew them, by their dreſs, to be Portugueſe; and though, as well on the ſcore of his country as his religion, it was natural for him to hate them, yet he very kindly offered them his ſervice, and ſincerely fulfilled all that he had promiſed. He acquainted the Samorin, that a powerful and warlike nation were come from the fartheſt parts of the earth, to ſeek his friendſhip, and to trade with his ſubjects. This repreſentation had its effects; Gama was allowed to anchor in that port, and alſo admitted to an audience, in which he was treated with kindneſs and reſpect[r].

Difference with the Samorin, which obliges Don Vaſquez to leave Calicut.

But things did not remain long in this poſture; for the Mohammedans, who were ſettled in the dominions of this prince, foreſeeing their own commerce muſt be deſtroyed, by

[r] Cfor. de Reb. Eman. lib. i. P. Laſitau Hiſtoire des Conquêtes des Portuguais, vol. i. p. 112.

by the arrival of the Portugueſe, took incredible pains to miſrepreſent them, as an ambitious and cruel people, who meant nothing leſs than to depoſe the Samorin, and to conquer his country; which inſinuations had ſuch effect on the Indian monarch, that he began to lay ſnares for the deſtruction of Gama and his people. Don Vaſquez had very early intelligence of his deſigns, and therefore haſtened on board his ſhips, and quitted the coaſt. He wrote, however, a letter to the Samorin; in which he complained of this breach of faith, juſtified himſelf from the imputations before mentioned, and adviſed the Samorin to return to his former ſentiments. The Samorin wrote him a polite anſwer; in which he laid the blame on his miniſters and the Mohammedans, promiſing to puniſh the guilty, aſſuring him, his nation ſhould meet with no reaſon to complain; and, to theſe compliments, added a reſpectful letter to the king of Portugal[s], in which he accepted the propoſitions made him on his majeſty's behalf, and promiſed a free trade to his ſubjects, without prejudice, however, to his former allies (G). Don Vaſquez having received the letters, proceeded to the iſland of Angediva, at the diſtance of fifty leagues from Calicut; where having repaired his veſſels, and refreſhed his people, he ſailed thence for Europe. In his paſſage, he took care to put into Melinda, where he was received, as before, with great friendſhip; and the king, according to his promiſe, ſent with him an ambaſſador to Portugal. He proceeded then to the iſland of Zanguebar; but finding by the way his crew much diminiſhed, he burnt the Saint Raphael, which was commanded by his brother

[s] Maffæi Hiſt. Indica, part i. lib. i. cap. 29.

(G) It was to this Moor that Don Vaſquez owed his own ſafety, and the Portugueſe the poſſeſſion of the Indies; for the Mohammedans laid before the Samorin all the conſequences that would attend the coming of the Chriſtians into the Indies; and ſhewed him, that the only method to prevent it was to cut off theſe ſtrangers to a man, and burn their ſhips; to which, if a fair opportunity had offered, it is thought he was well enough inclined; but the Moor gave Don Vaſquez intelligence of all, from a ſpirit of honour and generoſity, taking at the ſame time, a reſolution of ſharing his fortune, and accordingly returned with him to Portugal; where he became a Chriſtian, lived with honour, and died in peace (1).

(1) Maffæi Hiſt. Indic.

Paul

Paul Gama, and took the men on board his own ſhip. From Zanguebar he ſailed to Mozambique, where he took in a ſupply of freſh proviſions. On the 20th of March following, he doubled the Cape of Good Hope; proceeded from thence to the Terceras; and in the month of September, 1499, arrived ſafe at Belem; having ſpent two years and ten months in his voyage, and having loſt, by ſickneſs and fatigue, one hundred men, and amongſt them his brother. The ſucceſs of this voyage put an end to all diſputes; all ranks of people were loud in their commendations of the noble perſon who had atchieved this enterprize; but it was obſerved, thoſe were loudeſt in their applauſe, who, before his departure, had treated this diſcovery as a viſion [t] (H).

The ſecond fleet ſent to the Indies, under Don Pedro de Capral.

The council of Portugal being unanimous, the king was ſolicited not to loſe time, or ſpare expence, in ſeconding his good fortune, and reaping the benefits of that diſcovery, of which his royal predeceſſors had only a proſpect. The fleet for this ſecond expedition was compoſed of thirteen ſail, ſome of which were large ſhips [u]. Don Pedro Alvarez de Capral was appointed general and commander in chief, and carried with him one thouſand five hundred

[t] J. de Barros, Decad. i. lib. iv. cap. 11. Maffæi Hiſt. Indica, part i. lib. i. cap. 29. [u] J. de Barros, Decad. i. lib. v. cap. 2.

(H) Don Vaſquez da Gama, as ſoon as he arrived at Liſbon, went to ſpend a week in devotion at the hermitage of our Lady, built by the infant Don Henry, and where he had offered up his prayers to God, for the ſucceſs of his voyage, at the time of his departure. Thither the king ſent ſeveral perſons of diſtinction to compliment him in his name; after which, he made his public entry into Liſbon, with all the pomp and ceremony of a ſovereign prince, illuminations, bonfires, and every other teſtimony of public joy, being expreſſed on his return. Beſides theſe honourable marks of favour, the king granted him more ſolid evidences of his gratitude and eſteem, by augmenting his coat of arms with part of thoſe of Portugal, declared him admiral of the Indies, added to that, a perpetual rent-charge of a thouſand crowns out of his exchequer, with a permiſſion to inveſt two hundred thouſand cruſadoes in every cargo ſent to the Indies; which produced upwards of two hundred thouſand pounds of our money in return; and ſome time afterwards, he created him Count de Videguiera (2).

(2) Maffei Hiſt. Indica, part. i. lib. ii. cap. 1.

regular

regular troops. In the month of March, experience having shewn that was the propereſt ſeaſon of the year for viſiting the Indies, he ſailed from Liſbon. In his paſſage, keeping out at ſea, in order to avoid the ſtorms that had been met with in doubling the Cape, he found himſelf near an unknown continent, oppoſite to that of Africa, and, as it made a very pleaſant appearance, he judged it requiſite to go on ſhore, and take poſſeſſion on the behalf of the king his maſter, which country he called the Land of the Holy Croſs, but it has been ſince known by the name of Brazil; and thus the Portugueſe firſt ſet foot on the continent of America[x]. This diſcovery ſeemed of ſuch conſequence to Don Pedro, that he thought fit to ſend Gaſpar Lamidos back to Portugal with the good news, putting one of the natives of the new-found country on board; and having left likewiſe twenty condemned perſons, who were ſent with him for ſuch deſperate ſervices, in Brazil, proſecuted his voyage[y]. In a ſhort time after he had left Brazil, he was ſurpriſed by a moſt dreadful ſtorm, in which he loſt many of his people, and one of his ſhips, on board which was Bartholomew Diaz, who firſt doubled the Cape of Good Hope, and who, by this accident, periſhed with the reſt. The general, notwithſtanding, continued his voyage to Mozambique, where he arrived, with no more than ſix ſail, and thoſe but in a poor condition. The inhabitants remembering the diſputes they had with his predeceſſor, received him with reſpect, and furniſhed him with whatever he demanded. He proceeded from thence to Quiloa, and then continued his route to Melinda, where he ſet on ſhore the ambaſſador of that prince, whom Vaſquez da Gama brought over. He ſailed from thence, with a fair gale of wind, to the Angedive Iſlands, where he refreſhed and refitted.

Falls upon the Samorin, for the fault of his own factor, which created an inſurrection.

The Samorin ſent to compliment him upon his arrival, and to invite him to Calicut, an invitation which he accepted, on condition of having hoſtages for his ſecurity. Thoſe he demanded were the catual, or commiſſioner of the cuſtoms, and ſome other of the Samorin's miniſters. The prince heſitated at firſt, but at length conſented. On his landing, he was admitted to an audience of the emperor; at which Capral, who was naturally vain, made a diſplay of his magnificence. The Samorin, to demonſtrate the ſincerity of his profeſſions, made him a preſent of a houſe,

[x] Maffei Hiſt Indica, p. i. lib. iii. cap. 2. [y] P. Lafitau Hiſtoire des Conquêtes des Portuguais, vol. i. p. 160.

by

by a deed of gift, ingroſſed in letters of gold; he permitted him alſo to ſet up the ſtandard of Portugal, to appoint a factor, or conſul, for his nation, and to open magazines for commerce; but all this fair ſhew of reciprocal friendſhip ſoon came to nothing. The Portugueſe hiſtorians acknowlege, that it happened through the imprudence of their factor Correa, who, on ſome ſlight information, acquainted Capral, that the Samorin's intentions were miſchievous. The Portugueſe general, upon this intimation, began to ſeize ſhips, and to commit other acts of hoſtility. The inhabitants thus provoked, attacked the Portugueſe factory, forced the gates, pillaged and burnt the houſe, and of ſixty-ſix people that were in it, murdered fifty, the reſt ſaving themſelves, with great difficulty, on board their ſhips [z] (I). The Portugueſe general took a ſevere revenge, by burning ten veſſels, richly laden, in the port, making ſlaves of their crews, and beating down a great many houſes. After which exploit, he ſailed for Cochin, which lies thirty leagues from Calicut. On the throne of Cochin, at that time, ſat a prince worthy of renown, Trimumpara, who, having reaſons to be offended with the Samorin, received Don Pedro very kindly, and concluded a treaty with him, into which the kings of Coulan and Cananor were afterwards admitted [a]:

[z] Maffæi Hiſt. Indica, part i. lib. ii. cap. 4. [a] J. de Barros, Decad. i. lib. v. cap. 3.

(I) The Moors were at this time maſters of the beſt part of the commerce in the dominions of the Samorin; for the management of which, they had two officers reſiding in his capital, called ſhaubanders, one of which had the inſpection of the caravans, and all the trade carried on by land, as the other had of the marine. The Portugueſe general appointed Andrew Correa to be the conſul, or merchant general of his nation, to whom both the ſhaubanders addreſſed themſelves, the former with the faireſt, and the latter with the foulest intentions poſſible. As bad men make the beſt flatterers, ſo this laſt ſoon wrought himſelf ſo much into Correa's favour, that by filling his head with groundleſs ſuſpicions, he induced him to commit various acts of inſolence and violence, and at the ſame time privately irritated the people, and put them upon attacking and plundering the Portugueſe warehouſes, where they murdered Correa, and fifty more; which produced thoſe flagrant acts of revenge that are mentioned in the text (1).

(1) J. de Barros, Decad. i. lib. v. cap 5.

for Capral taking great state upon him, did not immediately listen to this proposal, but offered to carry their ambassadors into Portugal, assuring them, that his majesty would send them speedy and powerful assistance against the Samorin. They accepted this offer; the general having taken on board a rich cargo, paid a visit to the king of Cananor; and having received the ambassadors of all the three princes on board, in the month of January sailed for Europe. In his passage home, one of his ships ran ashore on the coast of Melinda, when, to prevent the Mahommedans from making any advantage of this misfortune, he first spiked his cannon, and then set the vessel on fire; notwithstanding which caution, the king of Mombaza found means to weigh the artillery, and to render them serviceable, to the great prejudice of the Christians. The Portuguese general continuing his voyage, doubled the Cape without any great difficulty, and arrived safely at Lisbon on the 23d of July, 1501. He brought home with him a large cargo, the ambassadors of three princes, and a pompous account of the great exploits he had performed against the Samorin [b].

A third squadron sent thither under Don Juan Calleca, who does remarkable service,

The foresight of this fortunate king was so great, that before the return of Capral, he had sent a small squadron to the Indies, of four sail, under the command of Don Juan Calleca, who very happily repaired the mischiefs that had been done by the Samorin, and prevented his attempting greater, by defeating a fleet of eighty sail, of which he destroyed ten; and by giving the king of Cochin such assurances of continual protection, as kept him firm to his alliance [c]. This vigilance and moderation procured him the universal esteem and affection of such of the Indian princes as had already negociated with the Portuguese; and enabled him to provide, in a short time, a valuable cargo, with which he returned to Portugal. In his homeward passage he touched at the island of St. Helena, and was so much pleased with it, that he procured an order from the king, that his fleets for the future should likewise stop there for refreshment [d]. It cannot be supposed that the returns he brought from the Indies were of greater value in themselves than those of the former fleets; but, in proportion to the force of his squadron, and to the expence with which his expedition was attended, they made

[b] Maffæi Hist. Indica, part i. lib. ii. cap. 5. [c] J. de Barros, Decad. i. lib. v. cap. 10. [d] Maffæi Hist. Indica, part i. lib. ii. cap. 6.

a much

a much ſuperior figure. To this we may attribute that wonderful ardour with which all ranks and degrees of people embraced the Indian commerce, that began now to draw a vaſt number of foreign veſſels to Liſbon, and to excite ſuch a deſire in ſtrangers, as well as natives, to embark in this lucrative trade, that when king Emanuel declared his reſolution of ſending a fleet of twenty ſail of large ſhips, he found himſelf in a condition to accompliſh it, as ſoon as the ſeaſon would permit.

The ſecond voyage of Don Vaſquez da Gama, and his exploits in the Indies.

The two laſt expeditions ſhewed plainly, that the choice of a commander in chief was a point of more importance than even the ſtrength of a fleet: when therefore this formidable armament was ready, the king deſired Vaſquez da Gama to undertake a ſecond voyage to the Indies, which, believing the ſervice of the public ought to take place of that ſatisfaction which, as a private man, he taſted in repoſe, that true hero, without any difficulty, accepted. At the proper ſeaſon of the year, the count de Videguara ſailed from Liſbon; and arriving at Guiloa, forced the king of that country to become tributary to his maſter, and to promiſe an annual tribute of two thouſand crowns of gold. He ſailed from thence to Cananor, where he landed the ambaſſador, made rich preſents to the king, renewed the alliance, and then proceeded for Cochin. Soon after his arrival there, he received a deputation from the Chriſtians of India, or, as they are generally called, Chriſtians of St. Thomas, to whom he promiſed aſſiſtance, and accordingly left a ſquadron behind him for their protection [e]. The Samorin all this time neglected nothing that could be contrived or executed to deſtroy his enemies. He laboured to engage Trimumpara to betray Don Vaſquez; but that prince anſwered, that the Portugueſe had behaved towards him with great generoſity; and that while they continued to do ſo, he would never abandon them. The Samorin finding theſe meaſures ineffectual, declared, by aſſembling a fleet of twenty-nine ſail, that he was reſolved to attack Don Vaſquez, when ready to return with his fleet laden, and in a condition leaſt able to oppoſe him; and this deſign he actually executed. Don Vaſquez ſuffered them to come as near as they pleaſed, and then engaging two of their largeſt ſhips, the ſeamen and ſoldiers boarded and took them ſword in hand, a circumſtance which ſtruck ſuch a terror into their

[e] Emanuel de Faria y Souſa Epitome de las Hiſtorias Portugueſas, lib. iv. cap. 9. Maffæi Hiſt. Indica, part i. lib. ii. cap. 6.

companions, that they bore away in the utmost confusion. In the two ships taken were found immense riches, besides gold and silver plate, to a great value; all which being brought on board the admiral, the ships were set on fire [f]. Don Vasquez proceeded, after his victory, to Cananor, conferred with the king on the measures necessary to be taken in his absence; and then leaving six large ships under the command of Vincent Sodrez, sailed for Mozambique. Having taken in necessary refreshments, he continued his voyage, without any unlucky accident, to Lisbon, where he was received with the utmost joy, and the tribute of the king of Guiloa, in a silver bason, was carried in triumph before him, at his public entry [g] (K).

The Samorin invades Cochin with a great army, and drives Trimumpara to great distress.

The Samorin did not suffer this opportunity to be lost; but as soon as the Portuguese fleet left the Indies, marched at the head of fifty thousand men against the king of Cochin, whose subjects were unwilling to fight in this quarrel, and therefore besought their sovereign to make his peace, by giving up the strangers; but Trimumpara acted with the utmost fortitude and good faith. At this critical season Vincent Sodrez arrived, to whom the king of Cochin applied for relief, desiring he would land a part of his forces, to assist him in this extremity [h]. This Portuguese officer was a very brave man, and understood his business perfectly; but he loved money, and had found

[f] P. Lafitau Histoire des Conquestes des Portuguais, vol. i. p. 184. [g] Maffæi Hist. Indica, part i. lib. ii. cap. 7. [h] Lafitau Histoire des Conquestes des Portuguais, vol. i. p. 203.

(K) Among the precious spoils that adorned the triumph of the admirante, there was a famous idol of gold, taken on board one of the Indian ships. It weighed sixty pounds; the pupils of the eyes were emeralds, perfectly fine; and on the breast there was a ruby, of the size of a chesnut, upon which the jewellers knew not how to set a value. Besides this, there was a mantle overlaid with the finest pearls the Persian gulph had ever produced. In the management of this solemnity, all flowed from the king; for the admiral of the Indies heightened the merits of his services, by an unaffected modesty, and that generous repugnance, which he shewed in receiving the rewards that were due to them, saying, upon all occasions, that the success of his endeavours was to be ascribed wholly to God, and that all the honours he had received flowed from the bounty of his prince (1).

(1) P. Lafitau Histoire des Conquestes des Portuguais, vol. i. p. 196, 197.

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an eaſy way of acquiring it, by plundering the Mahommedan traders, a practice which he was loth to abandon. He therefore pretended, that by his inſtructions he was to act only by ſea; on this pretence, therefore, he would not conſent to land ſo much as a ſingle man[i]. This refuſal amazed the good old king, and diſobliged the Portugueſe at Cochin to the laſt degree; but Sordez deſpiſing their reſentments, ſailed for the Red Sea, in order to make prizes; where his own ſhip was loſt, and he and his brother were drowned. The Samorin, during his abſence, marched with his army into the territories of Cochin; where the king being betrayed, a paſs was opened that led to his capital, by which the Samorin imagined he had him entirely at his mercy. As ſoon as Trimumpara was informed of this unlucky accident, his firſt care was for the ſafety of the Portugueſe, whom he conveyed to the iſland of Viapan, over-againſt Cochin. This iſland was conſecrated to the myſteries of the Indian religion, and had therefore been hitherto accounted inviolable in all the diſputes between monarchs of that faith; but it was alſo a place of ſtrength, not only in ſome meaſure inacceſſible by nature, but from its being rendered quite ſo by the aſſiſtance of art; and in this iſland there were conſiderable magazines, and a competent garriſon of good troops. The Samorin carrying all before him, a great part of Trimumpara's ſubjects deſerted their maſter, and ſubmitted to that tyrant; by which means the king of Cochin found himſelf at laſt obliged to follow the Portugueſe, and take ſhelter in the ſame place[k]. The governor of Viapan remained firm to his maſter's intereſt, and thereby preſerved him from the rage of his enemy; for the Samorin having burnt the town of Cochin, attacked the iſland of Viapan ſeveral times, but was as often repulſed, with loſs, and at laſt obliged to abandon his deſign, and to return again into his own dominions, the winter ſeaſon coming on, in which it was impoſſible for an Indian army to keep the field. He left, however, a conſiderable garriſon in Cochin, and ordered ſeveral forts to be erected, reſolving to return thither again in the ſpring, and perfect his ſcheme of expelling the Chriſtians[l].

[i] Maffæi Hiſt. Indica, part i. lib. ii. cap. 8. [k] Lafitau Hiſtoire des Conqueſtes des Portuguais, vol. i. p. 209, 210. [l] Maffæi Hiſt. Indica, part i. lib. ii. cap. 8.

Don Francisco Albuquerque arrives in the Indies and restores the king of Cochin.

But, before that season of the year returned, a new fleet, well manned, arrived at Portugal, under the command of Don Francisco Albuquerque, a man of equal courage and sagacity. Having very luckily joined that squadron which the commander in chief had left upon the coast, he found no great difficulties in disappointing all the Samorin's schemes, or in executing his own. He drove out the garrison which the Samorin had left in Cochin, and having demolished their forts, brought the king back to his capital. As this success gave the Portuguese admiral an irresistable interest over the monarch of Cochin, he took occasion from thence, to desire liberty of erecting a place of strength, for the security of his countrymen, that they might not be exposed to such dangers for the future. The proposal was, without difficulty, accepted; and the king of Cochin not only gave him leave to built a fort, but to build it where he thought fit [m]. In consequence of this permission, Francisco Albuquerque made choice of an eminence, commanding both the town and the royal fort; and as the king, to facilitate it, allowed him to cut down the fine palm-trees that were planted round his palace, he quickly finished the fortress, in the best manner such materials would permit. He likewise built a chapel for the performance of divine service. And thus, the Portuguese nation [n] became possessed of the dominions, as well in spirituals as temporals, of the Indies. Don Francisco prosecuted these ambitious projects, under pretence of reducing such as had rebelled against the king of Cochin; he made himself master of their countries, pillaged all their towns and villages at pleasure, and committed even greater devastations than those that were made by the Samorin, during the last invasion [o].

Upon which the Samorin concludes a treaty of peace with him and the Portuguese.

The poor Indians were amazed; it was impossible for them not to abhor these strangers, who treated them with such insolence and barbarity; but, at the same time, they knew not where to fly for refuge, except to the clemency of their sovereign, who, like the true father of his people, forgot their disobedience to him, and, by his intercession, procured them some indulgence from the Portuguese. The Samorin entered, about this time, into a private negotiation for peace; which was quickly con-

[m] Guyon Histoire des Indes Orientales, p. i. cap. 10. [n] Maffæi Hist. Indica. p. i. lib. ii. cap. 9. [o] P. Lafitau Histoire des Conquestes des Portuguais, vol. i. p. 217.

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cluded, but with great ſecrecy. All the articles of it were favourable to the crown of Portugal, and the conſequences might have been highly advantageous to its ſubjects; but they were now become ſo inſolent, that they broke the peace as ſoon as it was concluded. When the Samorin complained, Franciſco Albuquerque heard his ambaſſador very coldly, and, to ſhew his contempt for his maſter, did not ſo much as vouchſafe to give him an anſwer. It was impoſſible for ſo great a monarch to ſit down tamely under ſuch uſage, and therefore he began to make, though with as much ſecrecy as poſſible, all the preparations in his power, to take revenge. Trimumpara had intelligence of this deſign, with which he acquainted the Portugueſe general, and deſired him to delay his return to Europe; to which propoſal Alphonſo Albuquerque, the nephew, would have conſented, but Don Franciſco abſolutely refuſed to ſtay. All he could be brought to was, to leave Edward Pacheco, with three ſhips and one hundred and fifty men, to aſſiſt the king of Cochin [p]. The reaſon of this obſtinacy, was his having made a vaſt fortune in the Indies; which, however, proved fatal to him, and thoſe about him; for, in their paſſage home, meeting with bad weather, and the ſhip being crouded with rich goods, they went altogether to the bottom [q].

Trimumpara's kingdom gallantly defended by Edward Pacheco, and a handful of Portugueſe.

The war broke out in the kingdom of Cochin as ſoon as the Portugueſe ſailed; the people of the country either ran away, or deſerted; but Pacheco defended the king with great courage and generoſity, till, by the arrival of freſh forces from Europe, and repeated victories gained over the Samorin, the peace of that part of the world was entirely reſtored. After ſeeing this fully eſtabliſhed, Pacheco returned home, with a very moderate fortune, but with ample teſtimonials of his courage and conduct, of his zeal for the honour of his country, of his equity and juſtice, which procured him a very extraordinary reception in Portugal; where the king ordered one of the moſt eloquent prelates of that age to write the hiſtory of this war, and to do juſtice to that diſintereſtedneſs with which Pacheco had behaved [r]. The king drew from him, many lights towards carrying into execution a very great deſign, which he had been for ſome time meditating,

[p] P. Lafitau Hiſtoire des Conqueſtes des Portuguais, vol. i. p. 222. [q] Purchas's Pilgrims, vol. i. p. 32. [r] Emanuel de Faria y Souſa Epitome de las Hiſt. Portugueſas, lib. iv. cap. 9.

namely, the expulsion of the Mohammedans entirely out of the Indies. Don Emanuel had been informed that there were three great ports in the East, in which the Mohammedans were established, and from whence they carried on all their commerce to the most distant parts of the Indies. These ports were, Aden in Arabia; Ormuz, in the island of the same name, on the coast of Persia; and Malacca, near the streights of Sincapour. As their strength was by this means divided, Don Emanuel judged it not impossible to make himself master of all these places in their turns; and, with this view, he began to fit out a stronger fleet than hitherto he had sent to the Indies [s]. His notions were well founded; and we shall see, that by degrees, and more especially by a due distribution of his designs, this wise and fortunate prince actually accomplished all his vast projects.

Various Fortunes of the Portuguese, from the regular Foundation of their Empire in the Indies, to the Death of their successful Statesman and renowned Captain the Great Albuquerque.

By the advice of the Bramins the Samorin resolves to call in the aid of the Mamelucs against the Christians.

THERE happened in the mean time a new scene of affairs in the East, where the Bramins, who were about the Samorin, shewed themselves able politicians, by giving him the very best advice his affairs would admit. They observed that the Christians and Mohammedans were equally his enemies; and therefore the wisest thing he could do, was to call in one to combat the other; that, thus wasting their forces, they might be so reduced, and he become a match for both. He, in pursuance of their advice, demanded succour from the soltân of the Mamelucs, who were at that time in possession of Egypt; the news of which demand alarmed all the Christians in the Indies, and occasioned their sending immediate advice to Portugal. This obliged king Emanuel to dispatch his fleet sooner than he intended, and with smaller force, though even then very considerable, consisting of thirteen large ships and six caravels, with a large body of soldiers on board [t]. He made choice of Don Francis Almeyda, count d'Abrantes, to command it, who had served king Ferdinand of Castile with great reputation, and gave him first the title of vice-king and governor-general of the

[s] Maffæi Hist. Indica, p. i. lib iii. cap. 5. [t] Emanuel de Faria y Sousa Epitome de las Hist. Portuguesas, lib. iv. cap. 9.

Indies;

Indies; aſſigned him guards for his perſon, a certain number of chaplains, and whatever elſe could be thought neceſſary to give an air of grandeur to his office. On the 25th of March, 1505, the fleet ſailed from the river of Liſbon, and on the 11th of April following reached the iſlands of Cape Verd; from whence ſtretching too far to the ſouth, in hopes of doubling the cape with greater eaſe, the fleet ran ſo far ſouth, that the ſeamen had many of them their fingers frozen; but, varying their courſe a point or two to the eaſt, they at length arrived ſafely at Guiloa, where Abraham, the tyrant of that country, refuſing any longer to pay tribute, the viceroy drove him out, and ſettled Mohammed Anconin in his place, raiſing a fort there, to keep the people in ſubjection [u].

The proceedings of Don Francis Almeyda, the firſt Portugueſe viceroy in the Indies.

Thence he proceeded to Mombaza, a ſmall city in an iſland, well fortified with two citadels, furniſhed with ſome ſmall pieces of cannon, which encouraged the king to refuſe Almeyda entrance. This, however, he ſoon forced by beating their forts to the ground; he afterwards took the city by ſtorm, and made ſlaves of a great part of the inhabitants. He next continued his voyage to the Angedive Iſlands, which are five in number, not far from Goa, where, according to his inſtructions, he built a fort; proceeding then to Cananor, where, with the conſent of the king, he likewiſe built a fort, and ſecured it with a ſtrong garriſon [w]. On his arrival at Cochin, he found Trimumpara, worn out with years, had reſigned the crown to his ſiſter's younger ſon Noubeador, rejecting the elder becauſe he had deſerted him on the laſt invaſion. This occaſioned great troubles; but the viceroy put an end to them, and, as a vaſſal to Portugal, fixed Noubeador firmly on his uncle's throne. He was a vain and a proud man; but underſtood the intereſts of his country, and purſued them. While the count d'Abrantes was in poſſeſſion of the government, the great iſland of Madagaſcar was diſcovered; which received the name of St. Lawrence, becauſe firſt ſeen on the day conſecrated to that ſaint. Don Lorenzo Almeyda, the ſon of the viceroy, firſt ſurveyed the Maldive Iſlands, and then diſcovered the great iſland of Ceylon, the chief monarch of which he compelled to ſubmit to the protection of Portugal. After his return from this expedition, he joined the Portugueſe fleet, which was to be employed againſt Calicut, the A.D. 1508.

[u] Maffæi Hiſt. Indica, p. i. lib. iii. cap. 5. [w] P. Lafitau Hiſt. des Conquetes des Portuguais, vol. i. p. 277.

viceroy

viceroy being determined to fix the security of the Portuguse empire in the destruction of that power. Don Lorenzo d'Almeyda behaved very gallantly in a great fight at sea, which gave a mortal blow to the naval strength of the Samorin; but in that action this gallant young officer lost his life, nor could his body be found. The viceroy gave upon this occasion a very extraordinary testimony of his heroic courage; for, when he was informed of the victory, and of the loss of his son, he contented himself with saying, "All men must die, and Lorenzo could not die better than in the service of his country[x]."

His unfortunate death.

A desire of revenging his son's death, and reducing the whole coast of Malabar under the power of the Portuguese, entirely occupied the mind of the viceroy, in which design he might have been greatly assisted by Don Alphonso Albuquerque, who was now returned into the Indies, and had performed some great exploits; but the jealousy of the viceroy was such, that he not only declined his assistance, but even carried his resentment so high as to confine him in the citadel of Cananor, on pretence of misconduct at Ormuz, because he knew the time of his government was nearly expired, and that the king intended Don Alphonso should succeed him[y]. But before he quitted his command, he had the satisfaction of engaging the whole power of the Mohammedans at sea, and of gaining a complete victory; by which, in a great measure, that formidable league was broken, from which the Samorin was in hopes of compelling the Portuguese to abandon the conquests they had made in the Indies. The arrival of the marshal of Portugal with a great fleet, and three thousand land-forces on board, put an end to the disputes between the viceroy and Don Alphonso Albuquerque; the marshal acquainting the former, that it was the king's express pleasure he should resign his charge and return home, and that the latter should succeed him, though with the title only of general and commander in chief of the Portuguese forces in the Indies[z]. The viceroy accordingly, having resigned the administration, embarked the great riches he had acquired, and leaving Cochin, continued his voyage to Europe, which, however, was fatal to him through his own imprudence; for land-

[x] Maffæi Hist. Indica, p. i. lib. iv. cap. 2. [y] P. Lafitau Hist. des Conquetes des Portugais, vol. i. p. 479. [z] Purchas's Pilgrims, vol i. p. 52. Guyon Histoire des Indes Orientales, p. i. chap. 10.

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ing upon the coaſt of Africa with an intent to procure ſome freſh proviſions, his attendants provoked the barbarous inhabitants, ſo that a fray enſued, and the vice-roy raſhly interpoſing, ſword in hand, in ſupport of his domeſtics, was unfortunately run through the body by one of the natives with a lance [a].

The firſt action of Don Alphonſo d' Albuquerque, governor of the Indies.

As ſoon as Alphonſo de Albuquerque was inveſted with the government, the marſhal of Portugal repreſented to him, that it was impoſſible to execute the ſchemes formed by himſelf, or the court of Portugal, without previouſly reducing Calicut, and thereby putting an end to a power which had already given them ſo much trouble. Don Alphonſo entered readily into this advice, and made the neceſſary diſpoſitions for the ſervice, attacking the place by land and ſea with ſuch fury, that he quickly made himſelf maſter of the town, which he burnt, and of the fortreſs, which he demoliſhed. The marſhal, in the mean time, attacked the royal palace, which he likewiſe carried, after an obſtinate reſiſtance; but finding an immenſe booty therein, his ſoldiers fell to plundering, of which circumſtance the Indians taking advantage, ſurrounded, and cut them all to pieces; for they were ſo embarraſſed with their plunder, as to be unable to defend themſelves. The general, perceiving the danger they were in, advanced to their aſſiſtance; but receiving two dangerous wounds in his paſſage, was not able to come up time enough to ſave them; and, in renewing the attack, was ſo unlucky as to be cruſhed under a large ſtone that fell from an adjacent building. By this accident he was ſo terribly bruiſed, that his ſoldiers, with much difficulty, carried him on board his ſhip, and made the beſt retreat they could, after loſing in the action eighty men killed, and three hundred wounded, beſides the great marſhal, who fell a martyr to his own impatience, and the ambition of becoming maſter of the emperor's palace without any aſſiſtance [b].

He attacks and reduces the ſtrong fortreſs of Goa.

As ſoon as Albuquerque was tolerably recovered, he formed a deſign upon Ormuz; and for that purpoſe aſſembled a fleet, and a body of troops, amongſt which were two thouſand veteran Portugueſe, that had ſerved ſome time in the Indies; but, on the point of ſailing, he altered his ſcheme, and reſolved to attack Goa, a large and rich city, in the iſland of Ticuarin, with one of the beſt ports

[a] Maffæi Hiſt. Indica, part i. lib. iv. cap. 4. [b] Purchas Pilgrims, vol. i. p. 32. P. Lafitau Hiſtoire des Conquetes des Portuguais, vol. ii. p. 13.

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in the Indies. This island, which is about nine or ten leagues in circumference, was esteemed, from its situation, the most important post on the coast of Malabar. It belonged to the king of Decan, and the person who commanded for him there was one Idalcan, a Moor by birth, a man of great courage and experience. He took all imaginable care to put the place in a good posture of defence, notwithstanding which, the whole island was reduced, and the city of Goa taken by storm, the Portuguese being assisted by a fleet and army belonging to the king of Onor, under the command of Timoia, his general[c]. Don Alphonso Albuquerque made his public entry into Goa on the 17th of February, 1510, with great magnificence; and having settled every thing there in the best order, appointed his nephew, Antonio de Norogna, governor of the city; but Gaspar de Payva was director of the commerce, and Timoia had the charge of the revenues, which amounted to eighty-two thousand pieces of gold, or crusadoes, per annum. This conquest was not long maintained, for Idalcan returned with such a force as enabled him to recover the place, and the new governor, Antonio de Norogna, was slain in the dispute, a disaster which, however, served only to increase the desire of Albuquerque to raise the credit of his nation, by securing a country and city of such consequence[d]. This aim, after a war of long continuance, he accomplished, and this city became, in 1559, the seat of the governor, and the see of an archbishop and primate of the Indies, which lofty titles it still continues to bear.

Proceeds next to Malacca, and becomes master of the place.

The conquest of Goa, though in itself of vast importance, was far from satisfying the ambition of Albuquerque, whose mind was continually occupied with the desire of extending the power of his prince, and his own reputation. It was with this view that he sailed with a great fleet to the road of Malacca, where he demanded the Portuguese prisoners whom the king of that place had in his hands. The Indian monarch amused him with fair words and promises; and the general, being afraid that he might put the prisoners to death, bore with this treatment some time; but at last he was so provoked, that he made an attempt on the place, and actually set it on fire; upon which the king of Malacca immediately delivered up all

[c] Guyon Hist. des Indies Orientales, vol. i. p. 385. P. Lafitau Histoire des Conquetes des Portugais, vol. ii. p. 45. [d] Maffæi Hist. Indica, part i. lib. iv. cap. 7.

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his priſoners, and offered to make peace with the Portugueſe upon their own terms. Thoſe preſcribed by Albuquerque were pretty high. He demanded leave to build a fort where he thought fit; reparation of all damages done to the Portugueſe; and a ſum of money equivalent to the expence of this expedition. The Indian monarch abſolutely refuſed to yield to them; and thereupon hoſtilities recommenced on both ſides, which ended in Albuquerque's attacking the city of Malacca by ſea and land with great fury. After an obſtinate reſiſtance it was taken by ſtorm, and given to the pillage of the Portugueſe ſoldiers; and we may judge of the riches of the place by the clear fifth which was reſerved for the king, and which was bought on the ſpot by the merchants for two hundred thouſand pieces of gold [d].

Precautions for preſerving the city.

The general immediately cauſed a fort to be erected for the ſecurity of the place, and putting a good garriſon into it, he gave the command thereof to Rodriguez Patalino: he raiſed Utimut, an Indian lord, who, by deſerting the king of Malacca, had been very uſeful to him, to the poſt of ſupreme magiſtrate of the Indians and Mohammedans; and having received the compliments of ſeveral Indian princes upon his victory, prepared to return to Goa. Before he quitted the place a conſpiracy was diſcovered, in which Utimut was principally concerned, who thought to have made himſelf maſter of the place. As his letters were intercepted, the proof againſt him was clear, and the general ordered him and his ſon to be executed, notwithſtanding his great age, and an offer made him of a hundred thouſand pieces of gold to ſpare their lives [e]. After having ſtayed in this place about a year, he left an experienced officer commander at Malacca, with a ſufficient number of ſhips and men, and ſailed for the coaſt of Malabar; but in his paſſage met with ſuch a ſtorm as deſtroyed the greateſt part of his fleet, with all the riches on board. It was with very great difficulty that the general himſelf eſcaped, and with his ſhattered veſſels returned to the port of Cochin [f].

His activity and good fortune.

After having regulated the affairs of this place Don Alphonſo returned to Goa, which he found in ſome confuſion; but he ſoon reſtored good order, and humbled all the Indians in his neighbourhood to ſuch a degree, that

[d] P. Lafitau Hiſtoire des Conquetes des Portugais. vol. ii. p. 109.
[e] Purchas Pilgrims, vol. i. p. 33 Maffæi Hiſt. Indica, part i. lib v. cap. 1, 2. [f] P. Lafitau Hiſtoire des Conquetes des Portugais, vol. ii. p. 160.

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the Samorin himself sent ambassadors to desire peace, and to offer his consent to build a fort at Calicut. The emperor of Ethiopia also sent an ambassador to Goa, and from thence to Portugal; and so strong was the terror of the Portuguese arms now become, that Idalcan, and the princes that had given the greatest opposition to their settlement, were glad to atone for their indiscretion by offering to accept such terms as Don Alphonso thought fit to prescribe. Such a splendid scene of prosperity would certainly have turned the head of a man of less abilities than the great Albuquerque, to whose capacity the Portuguese were more indebted for their conquests than to the armies and fleets which he commanded[g]. He loved the ancient frugality of his country, and did not suffer himself to be at all corrupted by the power and wealth that he possessed; and, indeed, he made no use of either, but for the service of the crown.

The virtues and high qualities of Don Alphonso d'Albuquerque the Great.

When he observed it was the disposition of the Indians to measure every thing by outward pomp, he seemed to give into their notions; and affected, upon public days, prodigious magnificence, even in the minutest things; yet, in the midst of all this, he relaxed nothing in his former severity; but lived, in the midst of public splendor, as coarsely, in respect to his person, as any private man. In exacting the dues of the crown he was somewhat severe; but with regard to his private fortune, he took so little care of it, that, except his public appointments, he had scarce any thing he could call his own. His officers were his children; and he took as much pains in teaching them their duty, as an affectionate parent takes in the education of his sons. He overlooked miscarriages; but punished treachery, or neglect of duty, with inexorable severity. He was extremely ready to reward, and all his discourse at table was of the great actions performed by his officers; while he was not barely silent as to his own, but would not even permit others to commend them. It was a saying frequent in his mouth, that he was afraid of nothing but flattery; and it was observed, that he never preferred any who attempted to gain his favour that way. It has been well observed by some of the Portuguese historians, that the vanity of Almeyda made him affect the state of a prince, when the power of the Portuguese was but indifferently established; whereas the modesty of Albuquerque was most conspicuous when

[g] Maffæi Hist. Indica, part i. lib. v. cap. 3.

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his victories left him nothing to fear, and when the greateſt princes of the Eaſt ſent ambaſſadors to intreat his friendſhip[h]. Yet, with all theſe ſhining qualities, this hero wanted not his faults: his ambition was boundleſs; and, carried away by an extravagant deſire of extending the dominions of the crown of Portugal, he little regarded whether the meaſures he took for that purpoſe were juſt or not. In his private life he was a man of the ſtricteſt honour; in his public character, truth will not permit us to ſay ſo much.

Yet not wholly free from failings.

He made himſelf maſter of Goa without any other pretence, than that it was neceſſary to the crown. He ſeized Malacca for the ſame reaſon; and meditated the conqueſt of Ormuz from the like motive, which he accompliſhed in the following manner. He had, before he was declared general of the Indies, attempted to raiſe a citadel there, without being able to effect his deſign; but the power of the Portugueſe being ſo much increaſed, that all the commerce of the Eaſt depended upon them, the king of Ormuz had been obliged to become tributary, becauſe his city and ſubjects depend upon trade. The name of the king of Ormuz at this time was Torun Shâh, a young prince of no great abilities, and of a weak and timorous ſpirit. In the beginning of his reign he was entirely governed by an old miniſter, whoſe name was Noradin, a man of immenſe cunning, but of no enterpriſing genius, who, to ſupport himſelf, and ſecure the adminiſtration to his family, brought three of his nephews to court, and gave them great poſts in the government and army. Hamed, the youngeſt of theſe, in a ſhort time, by his intrigues, gained ſuch a ſhare of power, that neither the king nor his uncle had any more than a ſhadow of authority left[i].

His laſt enterprize on Ormuz.

Don Alphonſo Albuquerque, being informed of this circumſtance, aſſembled his army; and gave out that his deſign was to attack Aden; but, when at ſea, he ſailed directly to the coaſts of Perſia, and appeared before Ormuz when he was leaſt expected. He demanded that the citadel ſhould be immediately put into his hands; that Portugueſe factories ſhould be ſettled in the place, and that the king ſhould acknowledge himſelf dependent on the crown of Portugal. Torun Shâh judging it better to be the vaſſal of a ſovereign prince than the ſlave of his own

[h] J. de Barros, Decad. ii. lib. x. cap. 5.

[i] Maſſæi Hiſt. Indica, part i. lib. v. cap. 7.

miniſter,

minister, exerted his authority to lessen his own dignity, admitted the general into the citadel, assigned the Portuguese some of the best houses in the town for their factory, and ordered their flag to be displayed upon the palace. Hamed could not help discovering his impatience at a change so sudden and unexpected; to prevent the effects of which, he formed some designs against the general's life; of which Don Alphonso was no sooner informed, than he gave orders to some of his soldiers to dispatch him; a service which they without ceremony performed. If the general had stopped here, it had been well enough; but his projects were not of a nature to be bounded by any thing but the absolute possession of what he aimed at; and therefore, under pretence that a fleet was coming from Egypt to make a descent upon the island, he demanded all the artillery of the place, which he said was necessary for preserving it from the enemy. Torun Shâh assembled his council; who declared they knew nothing of any such design, and that they thought it very imprudent to comply with the general's desire. The cowardice of the king got the better of the good sense of his ministers; the artillery was put on board, which the general would never restore. Having made Pedro d'Albuquerque governor of the citadel, he seized fifteen princes of the blood, with their wives and children, and carried them away with him to Goa, that he might have hostages for their good behaviour. And thus, for the present, Ormuz was subjected to the Portuguese [k].

Complimented by the Shâh of Persia, and other Indian princes, on this conquest.

The Portuguese general had the satisfaction, soon after this, of receiving an ambassador from the shâh of Persia. That monarch could not but see, with apprehensions, so powerful a nation established so close to his own coast; but necessity taught him to dissemble; and besides, he thought it better became a prince to put on an appearance of friendship than of fear. Don Alphonso penetrated into the true motive of this embassy; and, with very great sagacity, managed it so as to remove the jealousy of the Persian, and to convert a suspicious compliment into real confidence. He received the ambassadors very respectfully in public; in private very graciously: he expressed a great esteem for the person of the shâh; and, in return for his presents, sent him a train of field pieces, with some good engineers to manage them. The shâh was equally surprised and pleased with this polite behaviour in the

[k] Guyon Historie des Indes Orientales, vol. i. p. 388, 389.

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Chriſtian general, who very wiſely contrived by this meaſure to put it in the power of the Perſians to act ſucceſsfully againſt the Turks, who were the common enemies both of them and of the Portugueſe. It is certain that Don Alphonſo d'Albuquerque was one of the moſt formidable, as well as one of the moſt determined enemies that nation ever had: he foreſaw that they would be one day maſters of Egypt; and he knew that when they became ſo, they might, by wiſe management, ſecure the trade of the Indies. This misfortune he reſolved to prevent; and, with that view, formed two ſchemes that he did not live to execute, but which, notwithſtanding, will for ever do honour to his memory, and ſhew that his genius was as extenſive as his ambition [1].

Other great projects formed by him, which he did not live to carry into execution.

The firſt of theſe projects regarded the reviving the trade by the way of Alexandria, in which he knew the Venetians would have aſſiſted the Turks, or any other Barbarians whatever, for their own ſakes. He inſinuated to the emperor of Ethiopia, that, for his own ſecurity againſt ſuch bad neighbours, the beſt ſtep he could take would be to divert the channel of the Nile, by cutting a paſſage for it into the Arabian ſea before it reached Egypt. If this deſign had been practicable, it would have rendered the greateſt part of Egypt uninhabitable, and made it at the ſame time impracticable to renew the old method of tranſporting Eaſt India commodities from the Red Sea to Alexandria, which was the principal point he had in view. His ſecond project was, to tranſport three hundred horſe from the iſland of Ormuz to the oppoſite coaſt of Arabia, which is but ſeventeen leagues diſtant; and this party he thought ſufficient to plunder the tomb of Mohammed at Mecca, which he conceived muſt have been attended with advantageous conſequences. He thought it would have ſtruck the Mohammedans in the Eaſt with terror and amazement, and put an end to that concourſe of people, who going thither in pilgrimage, in ſome meaſure ſupports the commerce of Arabia; and conſequently would have promoted in a great degree his other deſign of reſcuing the trade of the Eaſt out of the hands of the Turks, and other Mohammedan nations. In a very little time after the return of Don Alphonſo to Goa, he was ſeized with a diſtemper, which in a few days brought him to his end, at the age of ſixty-three. He was called by the Mohammedans Albuquerque Malandy, becauſe he was born at

Dec. 16. 1515.

[1] Oſor. de Reb. Eman. lib. 10.

Melinda in Africa, which in all the eaſtern tongues is called Malanda; by the Portugueſe he was ſtyled, and that very juſtly, Albuquerque the Great. He was the ableſt ſtateſman, and by far the moſt conſummate general, they ever had in the Indies, and left their affairs in the beſt ſituation; and yet he performed all the great actions of his life with a very inconſiderable force. With thirty ſhips he took Calicut; with twenty-one he became maſter of Goa; with twenty-three he ſurpriſed Malacca; and had no more than twenty-two in his expedition againſt Ormuz. The death of this excellent commander proved a conſiderable diſadvantage to the Portugueſe affairs; and would have been a much greater, if his ſucceſſor had not been at that time at Cochin with a ſquadron of ten ſail, with which he was juſt arrived from Portugal. Albuquerque left all the ſettlements in the Indies in perfect peace, and in admirable order, with ſuch a body of regular troops as were capable not only of maintaining what was acquired, but alſo of adding ſuch conqueſts as the king or his ſucceſſors ſhould judge neceſſary. His funeral was performed with great ſolemnity; and his body interred in a chapel dedicated to the bleſſed Virgin, he had built at Goa, and which was much enlarged by his ſon Alphonſo Albuquerque, who lived to the age of fourſcore, and wrote a large book of memoirs, in which he recorded his father's actions[m] (N).

The

[m] Maffæi Hiſt. Indica, p. i. lib. v. cap. 7. P. Lafitau Hiſtoire des Conquetes des Portuguais, vol. ii. p. 250, 251, 252.

(N) This truly great man, who had done ſuch wonders for the crown of Portugal, and who had the honour to ſerve one of the wiſeſt and beſt princes that ever ſat upon a throne, had notwithſtanding the misfortune to die in diſgrace. His ambition, his auſterity, and his ſtrict regard to juſtice, raiſed him abundance of enemies. Moſt of theſe were returned into Portugal, where they were continually filling the king's ears with inſinuations to his prejudice, as if he had his own intereſt more at heart than the king's; to which, however, no great credit was given, till unluckily Don Alphonſo, ſuſpecting that Goa might be leſs carefully preſerved than the importance of the place merited, demanded it, with the title of a duchy, as a reward for his ſervices. This demand inſpired the king with jealouſy, and a reſolution of putting his affairs into other hands. Don Alphonſo received the news when he lay upon his death-bed; and is ſaid to have expreſſed himſelf in theſe words:

The Succeſſion of the Portugueſe Viceroys; and a ſuccinct View of their reſpective Adminiſtrations, to the Government of Don Conſtantine Bragança, under whom their Empire arrived at the Summit of its Grandeur.

THE ſucceſſor of Don Alphonſo Albuquerque was Lopez Suarez de Albergaria, who without delay entered upon the adminiſtration of affairs. He was a perſon of great candour and integrity; and thoſe virtues are ſaid to have rendered him but little qualified for his office. He made the neceſſary diſpoſitions for preſerving and ſupporting his countrymen in the poſts of which he found them poſſeſſed. He likewiſe diſpatched a fleet to China, which was in truth the wiſeſt act of his government[n]; but he was not over forward in ſeizing new countries, or in forming deſigns to the prejudice of his neighbours. Upon receiving intelligence that the ſultan of Egypt had fitted out a great fleet in the Red Sea, he ſailed thither with the whole Portugueſe naval force, which was very far ſuperior to any thing that had been ſeen in thoſe parts. Fortune ſeemed to favour him extremely at the entrance upon his government; for the people of Aden, finding their forces much diminiſhed, and the fortifications of their city in a great meaſure ruined, were ſo apprehenſive of being attacked by him, that they ſent deputies to offer their ſubmiſſion. He received them kindly, accepted of refreſhments; and, relying upon the profeſſions they made, took no care either to erect a fort, or ſend a garriſon, to ſecure the place. Of this neglect the people ſoon took advantage; ſet about repairing their walls with great diligence;

Lopez Suarez de Albergaria ſucceeds in the government, not to the fortune, of Albuquerque.

[n] Maffæi Hiſt. Indica, p. i. lib. vi.

words: "How! Suarez governor of the Indies! Vaſconcellos, and Diego Pereira, whom I tranſmitted to Portugal as criminals, preferred! I incurred the hatred of men by my love for the king, and am diſgraced by him through his prepoſſeſſion for other men. To the grave, unhappy old man, it is time thou wert there: to the grave!" He wrote a letter to the king, in favour of his ſon, who was a natural child; very ſhort, and concluding with theſe words: "I ſay nothing of the Indies; they will ſpeak for themſelves, and for me." He died December 16th, 1515, in the ſixty-third year of his age (1).

(1) P. Lafitau Hiſtoire des Conquetes des Portuguais, vol. ii. p. 248, 249. Guyon Hiſtoire des Indes Orientales, vol. i. p. 391.

and in a little time put themselves into such a posture of defence, as enabled them to make him sensible of his oversight, by despising the orders he afterwards sent them; a circumstance which made him repent of his credulity, and discern the bad effects of his want of diligence when it was too late. He shewed the same want of spirit in opposing the progress of the Turks, who in a short space of time made themselves masters of Egypt, and began to make themselves formidable as well in the Persian as in the Arabian gulph; so that it became daily more and more visible, that, notwithstanding his great virtue, and strict regard to justice, he was by no means fit for the dignity to which he was raised; and, in all probability, the affairs of the Portuguese in the Indies would have suffered still more through his ill conduct, if Diego Sequeira had not arrived from Portugal and taken upon him the command.

Don Diego Sequeira enters on the administration with better success.

The new viceroy landed at Malacca, and settled every thing in those parts to the benefit and satisfaction of the Portuguese. He afterwards turned his arms against the Mohammedans; and reduced the king of Baharen, an island in the Persian gulf, who had revolted from the king of Ormuz. This wise and well conducted enterprize contributed not a little to spread the reputation, and extend the power, of the Portuguese. He miscarried, however, in some attempts upon Diu; and began to be sensible, that the carrying on of continual wars, in order to prosecute the great design of driving the Mohammedans out of India, had much weakened the force of his countrymen, and thereby rendered it very difficult for them to support that vast empire which they had obtained. His three years being expired, he was succeeded by Don Duart Menezez; who quickly found himself involved in a variety of contests, against which he struggled with great patience and fortitude, and with some diversity of fortune °. In the first year of his government died Emanuel the Great, king of Portugal, who had happily acquired, prudently kept, and by dint of his admirable policy extended the influence of his crown over a great part of Asia and Africa. His great secret in government, by which through his whole reign, he was continually acquiring victories, without any remarkable check or re-

Dec. 15. 1521.

° P. Lafitau Histoire des Conquetes des Portuguais, vol ii. p. 271, 277. vol. iii. p. 3. Maffæi Hist. Indica, p. i. lib. vii. cap. 1, 2, 3.

verse

verſe of fortune, was this: he never truſted to chance or expedients. His revenues were very large, which he managed with great frugality; he waſted nothing upon favourites or pleaſures; he rewarded merit to the full, and commonly beyond the expectation of its poſſeſſor; he ſent out new fleets every ſeaſon, and never ſuffered the leaſt relaxation in his naval or military diſcipline: he very eaſily pardoned miſtakes, but never fraud; and puniſhed treachery with the utmoſt ſeverity [o].

John III. ſends forces into the Indies.

He was ſucceeded by his ſon John III. who, being deſirous to purſue his father's maxims, immediately ſent a reinforcement of ſhips and men into the Eaſt Indies, by which Menezez was enabled to proſecute his deſigns in all parts of the Indies, which, ſo long as the government remained in his hands, he ſucceſsfully performed. Next year Vaſquez de Gama, count de Videguira, was appointed viceroy of the Indies; but, as he was in a very advanced age, it being improbable he ſhould live ſo long as the uſual term of three years, a commiſſion was made out for Henry de Menezez to ſucceed in caſe of his deceaſe. There was a third commiſſion to Pedro Maſcarenhas, appointing him viceroy if Menezez ſhould die; and a fourth to Lopez de Sampayo, to ſucceed in caſe of the death of Maſcarenhas. Don Vaſquez de Gama did not enjoy his new honour for any time; but, having firſt defeated the people of Calicut in an engagement at ſea, died within four months after his arrival at Goa, ſo that the viceroyalty devolved upon Henry de Menezez [p].

Diſorders on the death of D. Vaſquez Gama.

The commiſſion, by which he was to ſucceed, was ſealed up with this ſuperſcription, "Not to be opened till (which God forbid!) Don Vaſquez de Gama, viceroy and high-admiral of the Indies, ſhall have departed this life." This being opened by the commanding officers in the great church at Cochin, Menezez, who was then abſent from the place, was proclaimed viceroy, whoſe adminiſtration was likewiſe of a ſhort date, and diverſified with both good and bad fortune; for, after ſeveral engagements with the people of Calicut, with various ſucceſs, he defeated their fleet in the port of Guleta, and made himſelf maſter of moſt of their ſhips; ſoon after which atchievement, he deſtroyed a fleet of Turkiſh ſhips off Dabul; another of Moors, off Zeila; engaged and defeated that of the prince of Patana, and Laqueximenes, the admiral of Bintam;

[o] Emanuel de Faria y Souſa Epitome de las Hiſtorias Portugueſas, lib. iv. cap. 10. Oſor. de Reb. Eman. lib. xii. p. 366. [p] Maffæi Hiſt. Indica, p. i. lib. viii. cap. 14.

and then, advancing to relieve the Portuguese besieged by the enemy in the fortress of Calicut, he very gloriously atchieved it; but died of a wound he had received in his leg by an arrow, supposed to be poisoned. This unlucky accident had very bad effects on their affairs; and, as these were chiefly the result of the very precautions taken to avoid them, it may not be amiss to examine them particularly [q].

Two viceroys at a time.

As soon as it was known at Goa that Henry de Menezez was dead, the great officers assembled, to open the billets by which the successor was appointed; and, from these, it appeared the authority of viceroy devolved upon Don Pedro Mascarenhas, who was then at Malacca. One of the officers present thought proper to distinguish upon this occasion between a general present and a general at a distance: he said, that the intent of these substitutions was plainly, that the government in the Indies might never want a head; and that an absent head being in effect no head, it was necessary to open another billet, in order to procure a viceroy for the present, till Pedro Mascarenhas should arrive from Malacca. This proposal was far from being universally approved, because many foresaw, that, under pretence of providing against a slight evil, or rather inconvenience, they were on the point of running upon a much greater mischief. However, Alphonso Mezias pressed it with such earnestness, that at last it was complied with; and the billet being opened, Lopez de Sampayo, the fourth substituted viceroy, took upon him that charge, and gave the Malabars, then in arms, a signal defeat in an engagement at the mouth of the Bacanor [r]. But Mascarenhas would by no means acquiesce in the authority of Sampayo, but assumed the title and office of viceroy. Being forced to wait the proper season for coming to Goa, he took that opportunity to repair with a fleet of nineteen sail to the coast of Bintam, where he defeated Laqueximenes, the enemy's admiral, together with the fleet of Pahang, which came to their assistance; then taking the city of Bintam by storm, he burnt it; and the king dying with grief at his ill success, Mascarenhas appointed another in his room, on condition that he should maintain no army or fleet without leave from the Portuguese, but commit himself wholly to their protection. On his sailing thence with his fleet to Goa, he desired arbitrators might be appointed to judge whether he or Sampayo was the

[q] P. Lafitau Histoire des Conquetes des Portuguais, vol. iii. p. 127. [r] Maffæi, &c. p. ii. lib. ix. cap. 1.

proper

proper viceroy, but the latter refuſed to ſubmit to any arbitration; nay, he ſeized and impriſoned him, ſuppoſing that this ſtep would put an end to the conteſt; but this violence, inſtead of leſſening the intereſt of Don Pedro, increaſed it; ſo that he found himſelf under a neceſſity of yielding to his propoſition; and thirteen judges were choſen to decide this difficult queſtion, which, by an accident that happened in the mean time, was made ſtill more difficult [s].

An unexpected accident renders this diſpute ſtill more perplexed.

A ſmall ſquadron arriving from Portugal, at Cochin, brought the king's orders to Alphonſo Mexias for ſuppreſſing all the former billets; inſtead of which new ones were ſent: Mexias, contrary to the advice of a great part of the council, ordered the firſt of them to be opened; and, finding therein what he expected, made no doubt of carrying all things at his pleaſure. This billet being in favour of Lopez de Sampayo, he aſſerted, that both the former nominations were void, and inſiſted only upon this laſt; and they being for the moſt part of his faction, or corrupted by Mexias, declared him viceroy. To put an end to all diſputes, he ordered Don Pedro Maſcarenhas to return immediately to Portugal. On his arrival at Liſbon he laid the whole proceedings before the king, who heard and decided this matter with great juſtice and wiſdom; for, in the firſt place, he cancelled the decree of the arbitrators, and ordered that the preſent viceroy Lopez ſhould pay to Don Pedro twenty thouſand crowns, as the profits of his two years government. He made a regulation for the future, that, on opening theſe billets of ſubſtitution, abſence ſhould not prejudice in any degree, provided the perſon named was between Cape Cori and Diu, which, taking in the beſt part of the Indies, rendered impoſſible that any ſuch accident ſhould fall out, as that which had occaſioned all this confuſion. But as Don Lopez Vaz de Sampayo had, in other reſpects, behaved well, it was judged expedient to leave him in poſſeſſion of the government, more eſpecially ſince he was obliged to part with all the money it had hitherto produced [t].

Don Lopez Sampayo confirmed in the government by the king his maſter.

As ſoon as the king's orders arrived in the Indies, Don Lopez executed them with all imaginable punctuality, reconciled himſelf to the friends of Don Pedro Maſcarenhas, and behaved in every other circumſtance as became a worthy man and a good ſubject. He had a ſtrong deſire to

[s] P. Lafitau Hiſtoire des Conquetes des Portuguais, vol. iii. p. 158. [t] Maffæi Hiſt. Indica, p. ii. lib. ix. cap. 4.

blot out, by his great services, all memory of former mistakes; and therefore, having intelligence of a great fleet of one hundred and thirty sail, bound to Mecca, with spices, he attacked them in their passage, dispersed and destroyed a great part, and took the rest. He likewise reduced a formidable pirate, who had taken possession of a place called Porca; and had amassed so much wealth, that, when the booty came to be divided amongst the Portuguese soldiers, every private man had a thousand dollars for his share [u]. He gained not long after another victory over the Indians and Mohammedans; and then returned to Goa, where, knowing that his term was near expiring, he made all the preparations requisite for the reception of his successor, and omitted nothing that was in his power towards putting all things into the best posture possible. His success in this respect was equal to his zeal; so that the best historians agree, that at the time he delivered up his charge, their affairs in the Indies were in all respects in the most flourishing condition. The royal palace, the cathedral, the convent, and the great hospital at Goa, were completed; all the fortresses upon the coasts and in the islands in thorough repair; every governor was at his post; every garrison complete; the magazines were well furnished; and, to crown all, the fleet was in the best order, consisting, in the whole, of one hundred and thirty sail, of which fourteen were large ships of war, six royal frigates, eight light armed vessels, six brigantines, and one hundred and two feluccas; and, before he resigned his command, he issued from the royal treasury three hundred thousand crowns in gold, by which all the arrears to the fleet and army were entirely discharged. Such was the situation of things when Don Lopez quitted his office.

Nunho da Cunha, general of the Indies, and his successors, to the death of D. Juan de Castro.

His successor, Nunho da Cunha, setting out from Portugal with a commission to be general, accompanied by his brother Simon da Cunha, who was constituted admiral of the Indies, attempted to put in at Mombaza, in order to pass the winter there; and being refused entrance by the king, forced a passage into the port; then making himself master of the town, he gave the plunder to the mariners, and set it on fire. Sailing from thence early in the spring, he proceeded to India; where he was no sooner arrived in 1529, than he resolved to reduce the town and fortress of Diu, situate in an island of the same name, near the en-

[u] P. Lafitau Histoire des Conquetes des Portuguais, vol. iii. p. 194.

trance

trance of the gulf of Cambaya. Accordingly he repaired thither with the fleet, and upon his appearance off the place received an ambaſſador from Badur king of Cambaya, with offers of yielding the fortreſs into his hands; which being accordingly performed, it was committed to the cuſtody of Anthony Silveira [w]. Not long after this ſurrender, the king of Cambaya, at the inſtigation of the Turks, who were very deſirous of getting Diu into their hands, made an attempt to diſpoſſeſs the Portugueſe, and recover the place; but was unfortunate in the undertaking; he with his Turkiſh auxiliaries being entirely routed, moſt of his fleet ſunk, and himſelf mortally wounded in the engagement.

Not long after this miſcarriage, Solymân, baſhaw of Cairo, came to beſiege it with a fleet of ſixty-two gallies, ſix galleons, and other ſmaller veſſels, having on board four thouſand Janiſſaries, ſixteen thouſand other ſoldiers, beſides gunners, ſeamen, and pilots; on their arrival before the town, they were joined by eighty ſail of ſhips of Cambaya, and ſome land troops belonging to the young king Mohammed. The Turkiſh baſhaw, landing his forces, battered the fortreſs with ſixty pieces of cannon; but the governor, with great bravery, ſuſtained his attack till the arrival of Garſias de Noronho, the new viceroy, from Goa. This officer, by a ſtratagem, which was no more than putting out four large lanthorns from every ſhip in the fleet, ſo terrified the Turks, that they raiſed the ſiege in the utmoſt confuſion, leaving behind them their tents, ammunition, artillery, and above a thouſand wounded men, beſides the like number that were foraging, all which fell into the hands of the Portugueſe [x]. Afterwards Mohammed ſubmitted to the crown of Portugal. But the Cambayans and Turks made another attempt on Diu, in the viceroyſhip of Don John de Caſtro, who routed them both by ſea and land with very great ſlaughter; after which, he added ſeveral works to the place, and raiſed a new citadel in a more advantageous ſituation, compoſed of much better materials than the former; which ſecured it for a conſiderable time [y].

[w] P. Lafitau Hiſtoire des Conquetes des Portuguais, tom. iii. p. 284. Emanuel de Faria y Souſa Epitome de las Hiſtorias Portugueſas, lib. iv. cap. 12. [x] Maffæi Hiſt Indica, part ii. lib. ii. cap. 15, 16. [y] P. Lafitau Hiſtoire des Conquetes des Portuguais, tom. iv. p. 31. Emanuel de Faria y Souſa Epitome des las Hiſtorias Portugueſas, lib. iv. cap. 12.

Upon

The government devolves on Don Garsias de Sa.

Upon the death of Don John de Castro, the billets being consulted relative to the order of succession, the first name that appeared was that of Don Pedro de Mascarenhas; but he having sailed for Portugal, there was a necessity of opening the next billet, in which was found the name of Don Garsias de Sa, an old officer of the crown, universally esteemed and admired. He entered upon his administration by completing whatever remained unfinished of the wise and great plan formed by his predecessor; and, though he lived but a single year, he added fourteen stout ships to the fleet of Portugal, and performed many other services that were very useful to succeeding governors. Don George Capral was next called to the command; and, soon after, found himself engaged in a war with the Samorin, whom he quickly reduced to the necessity of demanding peace; and would have performed greater things, if Don Alphonso Norognez had not arrived with the title of general of the Indies from Portugal[z]. It was during the government of this general that the Turks attacked Ormuz, and were very near becoming masters of that fortress; but at length the siege was raised. Some other disasters happened during his administration, which lasted about four years; at the expiration of which, he was succeeded by Don Pedro de Mascarenhas, who died in a year after he was settled in his new dignity. His place was supplied by Don Pedro Barreto, who found himself engaged in perpetual wars with the Indians and Mohammedans, against whom he acted with courage and success, till he was relieved by Don Constantine de Bragança, brother to the duke of the same name, the first viceroy of the Indies appointed by the regency after the death of King John, and one of the wisest and worthiest men intrusted with that great office. Under his government every thing prospered in such a manner, that the Portuguese persuaded themselves their empire would be as lasting in the Indies as it was glorious and extensive; but they were very quickly convinced of their mistake, and that there is nothing so fleeting and transitory as human prosperity.

[z] Maffæi Hist. Indica, part ii. lib. xvi. cap. 5.

A conciſe Repreſentation of the Nature of the Portugueſe Dominion in India, and a more particular Account of their great Governments of Mozambique and Ormuz.

IN the ſpace of about threeſcore years they had raiſed ſuch an empire in the Eaſt, as, to thoſe who are competent judges, will appear truly wonderful; their power extended on one ſide as far as the utmoſt limits of the coaſt of Perſia, and their influence over all the Perſian gulph; ſome of the ſmaller princes in Arabia were their tributaries, ſome their allies, and all lived under the greateſt awe and apprehenſion of them. On the other ſide of Arabia they had an intercourſe with, and influence over, the emperor of Ethiopia, or of the Abyſſines; ſo that they might be truly ſaid to command from ſea to ſea. Along the coaſt of India and the frontiers of Perſia they were in poſſeſſion of almoſt all the ports and iſlands of any conſequence, ſuch as Diu, Daman, Chaul, &c. They poſſeſſed the whole coaſt of Malabar, from Cape Ramoz to Cape Commorin: they were maſters alſo of the coaſt of Coromandel, of the gulf of Bengâl, of the city, fortreſs, and peninſula, of Malacca; the potent iſland of Ceylon was tributary to them, ſo were the iſlands of Sonda; the Moluccas alſo acknowleged their dominion: finally, they obtained a ſettlement in the empire of China, and a free trade with the inhabitants of Japan[a]. *The great empire raiſed by the Portugueſe.*

With reſpect to the Portugueſe, what chiefly requires our notice, is, the real ſource of their decay, and the preciſe time in which they were diſpoſſeſſed of their ſettlements; for, as to the more intereſting particulars of ſuch tranſactions, they belong properly to the ſucceeding ſections, in which we are to relate the progreſs of other nations in the Eaſt Indies.

The ſupreme power, while the Portugeſe remained maſters of the Indies, was veſted in a ſingle perſon, aſſiſted by a council; though, as we have already ſeen, that perſon was honoured with different titles, being ſometimes ſtyled general, ſometimes governor, but uſually viceroy, of the Indies; an honour ſeldom conferred but upon perſons of the higheſt rank for birth and quality, as well as abilities; and to the honour of this nation it muſt be acknowleged, that braver, wiſer, or better men, are ſeldom to be met with in *The vaſt power in the ſupreme viceroy of the Indies.*

[a] Guyon Hiſtoire des Indes Orientales, vol. i. p. 393.

hiſtory,

history, than amongst those who have enjoyed this high station. The power of the viceroy was in a great measure unlimited; but, to balance this, the time of his administration was but short, rarely exceeding the term of three years. The military affairs were in his hands without restriction, and though there was frequently an admiral of the Indies, yet he acted altogether under the viceroy's orders. In civil concerns, the tribunal of the viceroy established at Goa judged in the last instance, and without appeal; but in matters criminal, the viceroy could not put any gentleman of Portugal to death (and every person in the king's service is so esteemed) without the king's knowlege [b].

Prerogatives and privileges of other governors, and how the product passed into Portugal.

For the support of his dignity, the viceroy had large appointments, which enabled him to live in the utmost magnificence and splendor; so much the more requisite, as he really commanded many kings, who, as vassals to the crown of Portugal, paid him a ready and strict obedience; it was in order to secure this, that in many of their capitals, and in other the most convenient places in their dominions, forts were erected, and garrisons maintained; by which, to speak plainly, their power was so much limited, that they could do nothing prejudicial to the interests of the Portuguese, or to what they were pleased to consider and call their interest. In their ports the Portuguese had their factories, and the entire management of the trade, setting the price at their pleasure upon the goods and manufactures of the country, and claiming a right of pre-emption; by which not the Mohammedans only, but even the native Indians, were in a great measure excluded from commerce. By these means immense and inexpressible riches in gold, precious stones, spices, perfumes, rare woods, drugs, and all kinds of piece goods, were carried in annual fleets from their establishments on the coasts of Malabar and Coromandel, in the gulf of Bengâl, in the kingdoms of Camboya, Decan, Malacca, Patana, Siam, &c. the islands of Ceylon, Sumatra, Java, Borneo, the Moluccas, China, and Japan, into Portugal, whither all the nations of Europe resorted to purchase these commodities. We need not therefore at all wonder how so small a kingdom should be able to furnish such prodigious navies, or send such numbers of people into these distant countries, since the desire of sharing in their wealth and

[b] Treatise of the Portugal Indies, containing the laws, customs, revenues, &c. by the Viceroy Don Duart de Menezez.

prosperity

proſperity drew continual acceſſions of people into their territories, both in Europe and in the Indies [c].

Liberty of conſcience eſtabliſhed in Goa.

It was a high point of policy to eſtabliſh univerſal liberty of conſcience at Goa, and this notwithſtanding the inquiſition was alſo eſtabliſhed there, but without any power over thoſe who had not entered into the boſom of the catholic church. This freedom drew thither merchants and traders of all nations and religions, and kept up for many years a prodigious circulation from all parts; ſo that private perſons became immenſely rich, and conſequently could afford to pay liberally for the protection they received from their governors [d].

The concerns of the Portugueſe in the Indies decline from the death of John III.

The minority which followed the death of king John III. of Portugal was very detrimental to the affairs of that kingdom in Europe, and ſtill more ſo in the Eaſt Indies, where the viceroys were no longer obeyed with the uſual chearfulneſs and punctuality; but, on the contrary, every governor began in ſome meaſure to ſet up for himſelf, and to endeavour to raiſe a vaſt fortune within the ſhort ſpace of time allotted to his adminiſtration. This ſpirit occaſioned plots, inſurrections, and wars, with many of the Indian princes; in conſequence of which, Goa and Chaul were beſieged, one ſix months, and the other nine, by almoſt the whole force of the Indies [e]. Don Sebaſtian, king of Portugal, was very deſirous of going in perſon to the relief of thoſe places, and was, with great difficulty, diſſuaded. It might, perhaps, have been as well, if he had been ſuffered to take that ſtep, ſince, to divert him from it, it was found neceſſary to engage him in that fatal expedition to Africa, which produced the deſtruction of himſelf, and of his ſubjects. The Portugueſe in the Indies defended themſelves, however, with ſo much bravery and reſolution, that they preſerved both thoſe fortreſſes, and forced their enemies to riſe from before them with very great loſs. But this was the laſt great effort of their ſtrength, by which alſo it was exceedingly weakened, and from thence the declenſion of their power has been generally and very juſtly dated. But as their empire roſe by degrees; as the foundations of it had been laid very deep; as their eſtabliſhments were numerous, and ſome of them very ſtrong; and as a long courſe of proſperity had drawn multitudes of people into thoſe parts

A.D. 1572.

[c] Guyon Hiſtoire des Indes Orientales, vol. i. p. 391. 393.
[d] Emanuel de Faria y Souſa Epitome de las Hiſtorias Portugueſas, ib. iv. cap. 10. 12. [e] Idem, lib. v. cap. 1.

of

of the world, and consequently into their service; so it may be well supposed, that such a structure could not fall at once, but must sink and crumble by degrees; and that as there were many fortunate circumstances which contributed to the happy progress of their power, so there must have been likewise a strong concurrence of different causes to bring on a total declension of their affairs, the principal of which we shall endeavour, by the assistance of the best authors, to discover and describe.

Occasioned by the relaxation of discipline, corruption of manners, and grasping beyond their power.

The misfortune of Portugal's being united to the kingdom of Spain, after the death of cardinal Henry, uncle to king Sebastian, gave a terrible blow to their force in the Indies, by the introduction of those changes which naturally follow such a revolution in government, by the neglect which quickly ensued of sending the usual supplies, and keeping up the royal fleet at Goa, and the several squadrons stationed upon the coasts of the different countries in their possession; and above all, by that general relaxation of discipline which quickly ensued [g] (H). Another cause was the general corruption of manners, which immense wealth, absolute power, and excessive luxury, introduced amongst all ranks and degrees of people in the Indies; so that the sincere piety, the generous courage, and indefatigable spirit and diligence, which

g. Guyon Histoire des Indes Orientales, vol. iii. p. 36, 37, 38, 39.

(O) This great change happened in the Indies in 1581, where Don Lewis d'Ataïda was viceroy, but worn out with age, infirmities, and care, breathed his last, before any step was taken for acknowleging a new prince, by which the government devolved upon Don Ferdinand Telles de Menese, who, in hopes of making his court to his new master, caused Philip the Second to be proclaimed, and acknowleged, through the whole extent of his government. As it was impossible for king Philip to foresee this, he had taken care to send Don Francisco Mascarenhas with the title of viceroy, supposing that he would have found Don Lewis d'Ataïda alive, and in possession of the government, whom he created count of Santaren, that he might the more readily yield his place to the new viceroy: but Don Francisco finding the old man dead, and all things previously settled as well as the king could desire, dispossessed the nobleman, who had taken all this care, with the prospect of a reward, which he never received (1).

(1) P. Lafitau Histoire des Conquestes des Portuguais, vol. iv. p. 383, 384.

made

made the original conquerors appear more than men, evaporated entirely; inſomuch, that their ſucceſſors became indolent, debauched, and effeminate, to a degree which we ſhould rather the reader would conceive, than expect us to deſcribe. We may add to this, that their boundleſs thirſt of dominion prompted them to make ſo many ſettlements, and ſome of theſe at ſo great a diſtance, that their force, though great in itſelf, if it could have been, as occaſion required, collected together, was, by this ill management, ſo extenuated, as to become incapable of making a vigorous defence, more eſpecially when attacked in ſeveral places at the ſame time [h].

But more particularly by their oppreſſing the natives, and the invaſion of the Dutch.

By the ill uſage they gave the natives, by that reſtleſs impetuoſity with which they laboured to find an entrance into every country, and by that obſtinacy with which they perſiſted in driving out the Moors, Arabs, and Negroes, wherever they were able, they raiſed a general and implacable ſpirit of hatred againſt them throughout the whole Indies; which cauſes, taken together, without doubt, would have been ſtrong enough to have weakened and reduced them in time, if the laſt and more immediate ſource of their deſtruction had not broke out as it did. This was the arrival of the Dutch in the Indies, after Philip II. had, by an edict [i], forbid their trading in the ports of Portugal; by which he flattered himſelf, that he ſhould have reduced the United Provinces, and by which, on the contrary, he gave them the empire of the Indies: for being themſelves hardy and neceſſitous, having all things to hope, and nothing to loſe, and having to do with a people divided in their councils, depraved in their manners, and deteſted by their ſubjects and neighbours, they ſoon found the means of fixing themſelves in ſome diſtant iſlands; from whence, by continual acceſſion of new comers from the Low Countries, partly by force of arms, partly by their intrigues, but chiefly by taking advantage of the errors committed by the Portugueſe, they ſupplanted them every-where, and effectually ſtripped them of their dominions.

During the flouriſhing ſtate of the Portugueſe dominion in Aſia, the viceroy had five great governments in his diſpoſal, which, in reſpect to their value and importance, were ranged in the following order: firſt, that of Mozam-

[h] Emanuel de Faria y Souſa Epitome de las Hiſtorias Portugueſas, lib. v. cap. 6. [i] Conquiſta de las Iſlas Malucas, par el Licenciada Bartolome Leon de Argenſola, lib. vii.

bique,

bique, on the coast of Africa; next, that of Malacca, upon the peninsula of the same name; the third, was that of the citadel and island of Ormuz, in the Persian gulf; the town and fortress of Muscat, on the opposite coast of Arabia, was the fourth government; and that of the island of Ceylon, the fifth. Besides these, there were many others of less consequence, and yet very considerable, of which we shall speak in their proper places [k]. It is true, that as Mozambique lies on the coast of Africa, we might dispense with it here, and refer the description to another part of this work; but inasmuch as it was always reputed a part of the Indies; as the commerce of it was, and still is, of the highest consequence to the Portuguese; and as it remains yet in their possession, we think it necessary, for the sake of perspicuity, to begin therewith, and then to proceed to the Persian gulf, and the coast of Arabia, and from thence regularly, in the order in which places lie, we pass quite through to the Moluccas, the town and fortress of Macao in China, and the possessions which the Portuguese formerly had in Japan.

Description of the island of Mozambique.

The island of Mozambique, in latitude 15 deg. south, half a mile from the continent, contains about three quarters of a league in length, a quarter in breadth, the whole compass not exceeding a league and a half, with a white shore. It extends south and north, along the main land; between which, and this isle and fort, appears the bay, serving for a convenient haven, land-locked from all winds, being very large, and carrying eight or ten fathom water; within a stone's-throw of which, the ships ride at anchor. The fortress which the Portuguese erected here is a regular square, well fortified with four strong bastions, and by much the most defensible place that was ever in their possession on the coast of Africa. It is very certain, that the whole island is well inhabited, but it is not easy to say how those habitations are disposed; for some writers speak of cities, as if there had been two; others reduce these to villages; but the best accounts say, that houses are very thick over the whole island, of which some are strong and well built, others mean and contemptible [l]. The inhabitants are of different nations and religions; some forty or fifty families of Portuguese, without the fort, a much

[k] Les Etats, Empires, et Principautez, du Monde, p. 234.
[l] Dapper Description de l'Afrique, p. 398. Les Etats, Empires, et Principautez, du Monde. P. Lafitau Histoire des Conquestes des Portuguais, tom. i. p. 110.

larger,

larger number of Meſtizes, ſome hundreds of Arabian families, that are Mohammedans, and a great many natives of the continent, of whoſe religion we have no diſtinct account, in all, to the number of between three and four thouſand. This iſland was reduced to the obedience of the crown of Portugal, at the beginning of the ſixteenth century, and belongs to it ſtill.

The Dutch have made ſeveral attempts upon it, particularly two: the laſt time they attempted it, they beſieged the fortreſs thirty-two days, and were at length forced to retire, but carried off a prodigious booty [m]. The climate is very hot and moiſt, conſequently very unwholeſome, except to the natives, or ſuch as have been long ſettled there. The juriſdiction of the governor extends very far along the coaſts, to Sofala on one ſide, and to Melinda on the other. The iſlands of Querimba belong likewiſe to the Portugueſe, in which the houſes are built with ſtone, and ſo well ſecured, that they may paſs for forts. There is alſo a Portugueſe town upon the river, which falls into the port from the continent, at the diſtance of ten days rowing and ſailing. To this town the European and Indian merchandize is carried, and from thence diſtributed through the countries that lie behind it, ſome at the diſtance of three or four months journey [n]. In former times, it was a common thing for the Portugueſe governor to raiſe a fortune, in three years, of half a million of crowns. The Portugueſe fleet ſails from Mozambique for Goa annually, in the month of Auguſt, and returns thither in April [o].

A.D. 1604. A.D. 1606.

Attempts by the Dutch unſucceſsful.

The commerce carried on here conſiſts in gold, dug out of the mines, or gathered out of the rivers; in ſilver, brought from the mines; in the fineſt ebony, of which they have whole foreſts; in ivory, of which they have great quantities; in ſlaves, which are eſteemed the beſt in the Eaſt Indies; in cattle, fowl, palm wine, fruits, and roots. The European and Indian commodities ſent hither, are Spaniſh and Canary wines, oil, ſilks, linens, cottons, coral, ſhells, and toys; theſe are tranſported up the river Senna, and from thence through the continent. The bulk of their riches comes from the mines of Sofala,

Of the nature of the commerce of Mozambique.

[m] Recueil des Voyages qui ont ſervi a l'Eſtabliſſement de la Compagnie des Indes Orientales, tom. vi. p. 335. [n] Dapper Deſcription de l'Afrique, p. 401. [o] Les Etats, Empires, et Principautez, du Monde, p. 207, 208.

which are esteemed the richest in the world, since, if the accounts of the Negroes may be depended upon, they have produced, for a long series of years past, to the value of a million and a half sterling annually, of which the Portuguese had formerly by far the greatest part, and in which they have still a very considerable share; so that, without the support of this commerce, that of Goa would have long ago come to nothing. We have therefore no reason to doubt, that, in times of their greatest prosperity, when the Portuguese were masters of Quiloa, Mombaza, and other places, and had a very great force upon all these coasts, they must have drawn from thence prodigious advantages; and even now, they are in possession of all the European trade of this place, which cannot but be of very great value, though much inferior to what it was [p].

The situation, produce, and high consequence, of the island of Ormuz.

The island of Ormuz lies in the mouth of the Persian gulf, at the distance of five miles from the opposite continent. It is of no great extent, those who have described it most accurately allowing it not more than seven miles in circumference. It is, strictly speaking, no better than a rock of salt, the very dust of the country within land being very white and pure, as well as very pungent to the taste. Springs there are none, and when some writers mention small lakes of fresh water therein, we are to understand no more than cavities filled with rain, which, however, falls but seldom in that climate. This island was not only inhabited, but had also a good city, and a strong fortress, in which the kings of Ormuz resided, who had likewise some dominions, though not of any large extent, upon the continent of Persia, It was from its commodious situation, that it became the greatest mart in the East, to which shipping repaired, from all parts of the Indies, from the coasts of Africa, Egypt, and Arabia, besides a regular trade carried on by caravans cross the country. This made the sovereigns of Ormuz rich and respected, if not great and potent monarchs; and, at proper seasons of the year, there was a prodigious resort of merchants, from all countries, besides factors, that resided constantly there; particularly the Venetians, who drove a great trade in jewels transported from thence to Bassora, and so by caravans to Aleppo; or to Suez by sea, then over land, by the Nile, to Alexandria, where

[p] Dictionaire Universel de Commerce, tom. ii. col. 675, 676, 677.

they

they were delivered to the merchants to whom they were conſigned [q].

It was the known wealth and prodigious commerce of this place, which excited the ambitious Portugueſe to attempt the conqueſt of it, which, how they atchieved, we have already ſhewn. As it was not for their intereſt, they did not deprive the king either of his title or of his dominions, but were content he ſhould retain the one, and pay a tribute for the other. They were, however, abſolute maſters of the town and citadel. The former ſtood upon the ſea-coaſt, and conſiſted of about three thouſand houſes. The ſettled inhabitants were, for the moſt part, Arabians, Mohammedans, and ſubjects to the ſovereign; a few Indians, who were Pagans; and about one hundred families of Jews; ſo that, in all, they were computed at forty thouſand ſouls [r]. The Portugueſe reſiding there built very ſtately houſes, gilding all the bars of their doors and windows, and often boaſting, that, inſtead of lead and iron, they would ſubſtitute ſilver and gold. The materials with which they built, were no other than the ſolid ſalt, which conſtitutes, if the expreſſion may be allowed, the ſoil of the iſland, very durable in that climate, and not unpleaſant to the eye. The ſtreets were ſtrait and narrow, and the houſes lofty, the better to ſhade them from the ſun. On the roofs they had ſlight apartments of wood, where they lay in the ſummer time, and a kind of ventilators, built of pumice-ſtone, for the ſake of lightneſs, by the help of which, they admitted freſh air into all the apartments below. Their beſt rooms were beneath the ſurface of the ſtreet, in which they had baths and freſh water, for themſelves, their wives and children, to lie in, during the ſummer heats, more exceſſive here than in any other part of the known world, the oppoſite continent only excepted. The Portuguſe built alſo a moſt ſtately church, dedicated to the Bleſſed Virgin, which ſerved not only for devotion, but for their recreation, by walking in the cool and ſhady cloiſters.

A D. 1506.

Portugueſe eſtabliſhment there.

The fortreſs, or citadel, built on a point of land extending towards the Perſian coaſt, was regular, beautiful, and very ſtrong, furniſhed, by degrees, with no leſs than three hundred pieces of cannon. The king or ſultan had his palace in a fine plain, with ſome pavilions and plea-

The great ſtrength of the iſland, and the citadel commanding it.

[q] Hakluyt's Voyages, p. 215. Les Etats, Empires, et Principautez, du Monde, p. 209. Tavernier, Thevenot, &c.

[r] Hakluyt's Voyages, vol. i. p. 47.

ſure-houſes near it, and among them a ſmall tuft of palm-trees. The iſland has two harbours, one on the eaſt, the other on the weſt ſide, but neither of them very commodious; ſo that all ſhips of a larger burden than ſix hundred ton, were obliged to lie in the bay, at the diſtance of half a mile from the ſhore. Between the harbours, and, as it were, in the center of the iſland, there riſes a mountain, on the ſummit of that, another ſmaller and ſteeper; the lower is compoſed of ſalt and ſulphur, the upper of ſalt alone, ſo pure, that, at a diſtance, it looks like a great hill covered with ſnow. Upon this mountain there are ſtill diſcernible the ruins of certain towers, in one of which, the ſultans of Ormuz kept their brethren, after they had deprived them of ſight, where they were well attended, and ſumptuouſly entertained [s]. The Portugueſe had likewiſe a fortreſs upon the oppoſite coaſt, for the ſake of protecting their barks, and other ſmall veſſels, the ſea being ſo ſhallow between the continent and iſland, as not to admit of ſhips. The ſhore all round is covered with a black ſhining ſand, very heavy, and of a ſurpriſing luſtre. The natives, in the ſummer-time more eſpecially, in the mornings and evenings, run into the ſea, up to their necks; but this refreſhment the Europeans could not enjoy, becauſe it made their ſkins peel, ſo that they had recourſe to the baths in their vaults, which have been before mentioned [t].

The wealth, magnificence, and luxury of the natives, and of the Portugueſe, in Ormuz.

It hath been very juſtly obſerved, that the wealth, the ſplendour, and concourſe of people, not only rendered Ormuz the wonder of the world, whilſt in its flouriſhing condition, but afforded a perpetual memorial of the almoſt omnipotent power of commerce, in reſpect to ſublunary things; for here, at the trading ſeaſons, which laſted from January to March, and during the months of September and October, there was not barely an intercourſe between multitudes of buſy people, ſome of whom came, as it were, from the very ends of the earth, to reap the benefit of theſe conferences, but mirth and pleaſure alſo entertained their votaries here. The ſalt duſt of the ſtreets was concealed, and kept down by neat mats and rich carpets; the beams of the noon-day ſun were excluded, by canvas awnings raiſed over the tops of the houſes. The rooms next the ſtreets were adorned with

[s] Ramuſio, tom. i. fol. 187, 292, 338, 388. Tavernier, Thev. &c. [t] Purchas's Pilgrims, vol. ii. p. 414. Voyages de Jean Baptiſte Tavernier, primiere partie, chap. 23.

Indian

Indian cabinets, and piles of the fineſt porcelain, intermixed with odoriferous dwarf-trees and ſhrubs, ſet in gilded vaſes, elegantly adorned with figures. Camels laden with water ſtood at the corners of every ſtreet; the richeſt wines of Perſia, the moſt coſtly perfumes, and the greateſt delicacies of the Eaſt, were here poured forth with profuſion; and ſo long as it laſted, which was ſometimes for ſix weeks, it looked like a magic ſcene, diverſified with the moſt oppoſite appearances; cunning and gravity in the exchange; an air of officious politeneſs appearing every where in the ſhops; a kind of haughty and ſupercilious decorum reigning amongſt the Portugueſe officers, civil and military; an air of wonder and delight amongſt the common ſpectators; tranſport and joy in the public places; where rope-dancers, mountebanks, jugglers, dancers, and fortune-tellers, diſplayed their ſeveral talents for deluſion and deceit. Such, in ſpite of the frowns of nature, could human induſtry, directed by art, and ſupported by trade, render this deſpicable rock of ſalt, which remains now as deſart and uninviting, as it was then captivating in the eyes of thoſe multitudes who came in the train of avarice, luxury, and curioſity [u].

What prodigious ſums were raiſed by the governors of this place, in their ſhort period of power.

It is eaſy to conceive, from this deſcription, that the poſt of governor of Ormuz muſt have been exceedingly lucrative, more eſpecially in later times, when the governors laid it down as a capital maxim, that their principal buſineſs was to enrich themſelves. To anſwer this purpoſe, they took large ſums out of the cuſtoms, paid by all the ſhipping that entered the port or road of Ormuz; they impoſed likewiſe high duties upon the pearl-fiſhery at the iſland of Baharen; the barks from the coaſt of Arabia and Perſia, though freighted only with neceſſaries, paid mighty ſums every year, from the great conſumption of all things made, as well by ſtrangers as inhabitants. The governor claimed a privilege of ſending his own veſſels to Goa, Chaul, Bengala, and Muſcat; and, that his profit upon their cargoes might be the more conſiderable, the market was not opened to private merchants, till the governor had purchaſed a lading for his ſhips [x]. Add to all this, the excluſive power of felling horſes throughout the bounds of his juriſdiction, which muſt have amounted to a great ſum, ſince they were generally valued at four or

[u] Ramuſio, tom. i. fol. 388. Eſſai ſur le Marine, et ſur le Commerce, p. 184, 185, 186. [x] Hakluyt's Voyages, p. 215. Les Etats, Empires, et Principautez, du Monde, p. 207, 208.

five thousand crowns a-piece. The caravans from Aleppo set out twice a year, in the months of April and September, for Bassora; with a vast number of camels, escorted by Janissaries, and from thence themselves and their merchandize were easily transported by sea to Ormuz. These caravans consisted of from two or three to five or six thousand persons, and the wealth they brought was prodigious. On the other hand, the regular trade from Malacca, private ships from all parts of the Indies, and the caravans that passed through the provinces of Persia, brought likewise the richest and most valuable commodities, in vast quantities; neither could any of these be bought or sold, but the governor of Ormuz, and his dependents, would be gainers by them, more or less. One would have thought, that the value of this place being so thoroughly understood, and the security of it being so well provided for, there should have been but little fear of its being lost; more especially, at a time when their own power was so very great, and that of their enemies, reckoned singly, very inconsiderable [y].

The Persians, in conjunction with the English, attack the island by sea and land.

But the insolence of prosperity made all the precautions taken in those times, when prudence and public spirit prevailed, altogether fruitless. The famous Persian monarch, Shâh Abbas, had long meditated the conquest of this important place; but, for want of a naval force, found it altogether impracticable. The Portuguese, now under the dominion of Spain, supplied him with a fleet, by their indiscretion, which all the power of his monarchy could not have raised, or his policy obtained: in short, they quarrelled with, and insulted, the English, who were become lately considerable in the Indies. These entered into a treaty with the Persian, from certain motives, and upon certain terms, of which an account will be given in a subsequent section, furnished a squadron of nine sail, with which they blocked up, and battered, the city and castle, and landed an army of three thousand Persians on the island. The besieged had a great strength, and a good fleet, but all was very ill managed. The city surrendered soon, some writers suggest through treachery, but it seems to have been rather through indiscretion and folly: the fleet was, for the most part, burnt and destroyed. After all, the citadel made a good defence, and might have been preserved, if the governor had not been obsti-

[y] Voyage de Jean Baptiste Tavernier, primiere partie, chap. 23. Les Etats, Empires, et Principautez, du Monde, p. 207, 208.

nate,

nate, in refuſing to let the ſea through the peninſula, which joined the point of land upon which the fortreſs ſtood, to the iſland, becauſe it was an expedient that did not occur firſt to himſelf. In fine, after about two months diſpute, the garriſon of that important place capitulated with the Engliſh; and thus, after remaining in their hands almoſt one hundred and twenty years, Ormuz was loſt by the Portugueſe [y].

A.D.1622.

What immenſe riches were acquired by the plunder of this celebrated emporium.

It was computed that, excluſive of jewels and rich merchandize, the plunder, and ready money, amounted to above two millions. The articles of the capitulation were but ill obſerved, and the Perſian was not very ſcrupulous in executing the treaty; ſo that the Engliſh were far from having their full ſhare of booty; and of what they did receive the greateſt part periſhed at ſea. The Portugueſe made an attempt for the recovery of Ormuz, in which they might have been ſucceſsful, if the viceroy at Goa had not, through want of capacity, indolence, or pique to the officer who commanded in that expedition, failed in his duty. After it once fell into the hands of the Perſians the place was quickly ruined, and the trade tranſferred to Bander Abbaſſi, or Gambron. In proceſs of time the Dutch carried off the materials of the city, under pretence of taking in ballaſt, which turned to very good account, till, at length, this practice was forbid by the Perſians when it was too late. A garriſon was kept in the citadel for ſome time, but, by degrees, that is likewiſe fallen into ruin, the iſland utterly deſerted, and ſcarce the ſmalleſt remains are now left to vindicate the records of hiſtory, or to prove, that this was once a place of ſuch great conſequence, and the capital magazine of the whole Eaſt [z].

[y] Purchas's Pilgrims, vol. ii. p. 1787. Voyages de Jean Baptiſte Tavernier, primiere partie, chap. 23. [z] Travels of Peter della Valle into the Eaſt Indies, p. 5. Purchas's Pilgrims, vol. ii. p. 1793. Voyages de Jean Baptiſte Tavernier, primiere partie, chap. 23.

The same Subject continued, with an Account of their Settlements at Muskat, Diu, Daman, Chaoul, Onor, Cananor, Calicut, Cranganor, and Choulan; their Disappointment at the Maldives; their lucrative Fishery at Tutocorin; with their Establishments at Negapatan, Meliapour, and Malacca.

An account of the Portuguese establishment at Muskat.

THE next government in the Portuguese Indies, was that of Mascat, or Muskat, a very famous town in Arabia the Happy. It is situated between the capes of Raz al Gate and Moccandon, in 23 deg. 30 min. north latitude, exactly under the tropic of Cancer, about three miles in its circumference, built at the bottom of a small bay, encompassed with high rocky mountains, and guarded with a strong wall. Besides, it is fortified with five or six castles and batteries, and lies very convenient for trade, on account of its excellent harbour. Before the Portuguese arrived in the Indies, there was a great resort of merchants hither. The town, though not large and well built, was one of the most considerable upon the coast, subject, or at least tributary to the kings of Ormuz, who had a custom-house, and proper officers there, who received the duties arising from the pearl-fishery on the coast of the island of Baharen, which were estimated at half a million of ducats. The great Albuquerque summoned, and obliged this place to submit in the year 1507; but a body of two thousand Arabs getting into the town, immediately raised an insurrection, in spite of all the care the governor could take to keep them quiet; upon which a bloody and obstinate action ensued, ending in a complete victory gained by the Portuguese [a]. The governor lost his life in this dispute; but Albuquerque did all imaginable justice to his innocence, and protected his family in their possessions. The grandeur of Ormuz caused some decay in the trade of this place; for which ample amends was made after the destruction of that city, when the port of Muskat became the prime mart of this part of the world, and thereby produced very great advantages to the crown of Portugal, exclusive of the prodigious private fortunes made by the governors [b], and other officers, while they remained in possession.

[a] Maffæi Hist. Indica, part i. lib. iii. cap. 8.

[b] Les Etats, Empires, et Principautez, du Monde, p. 252.

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It is very certain, that, during that ſpace, the city of Muſkat was very much improved; for, beſides regular fortifications, they erected a ſtately church, a noble college, and many other public ſtructures, as well as very fine ſtone houſes, in which the principal merchants reſided, and thoſe who, by the management of public affairs, had acquired fortunes to live at their eaſe. In proceſs of time, however, they began to treat the natives ſo ill, and to lay their commerce under ſo many difficulties, that at length, deſpairing of redreſs any other way, they had recourſe to arms; and though it is on all hands allowed, that the ſubjects of Portugal behaved very gallantly, yet, in the end, they were reduced to ſuch extremities, as to be glad to embark, with their beſt effects, on board their ſhips in the port, and retire to their other ſettlements. This was about the year 1648: but the war did not end here; they made frequent attempts to recover a place of ſuch importance, ſometimes by force, ſometimes by negociation, but without effect. It is true, that for many years they diſturbed the trade of this place; but theſe hoſtilities became diſadvantageous in the end; for, by degrees, the Arabians became expert ſeamen, excellent in the uſe of fire-arms, and raiſed a conſiderable maritime force. The ſovereign of this country is at preſent maſter of all the coaſt, from Raz-al-Gate to Al-katiff, which is an extent of five hundred miles. His capital is Nazura, and Muſkat is entruſted to the care of a governor, who has very extenſive powers [c].

Improvements made by them.

As this is at preſent by much the moſt conſiderable port for trade in this part of the world, it may not be amiſs to dwell upon ſome farther particulars. The climate is exceſſively hot in ſummer. The mountains that lie at the back of the city are bare and barren; but the vallies are freſh and fruitful, though it does not rain above twice or thrice in as many years; but the dew which falls in the night ſupplies the herbs with moiſture, and the fruits with the richeſt juices. They have oranges, lemons, grapes, apricots, and peaches, in abundance; but what they value much more than any of theſe, and therefore cultivate vaſt orchards of them, are dates, exquiſite in taſte, of which they have ſuch plenty, that they export many cargoes every year. Roots they have, and herbs in great quantities, and in the higheſt perfection; neither do they want cattle, fowl, or fiſh. In a word, it

The ſituation, climate, and produce of the country about Muſkat.

[c] Ovington's Voyage to Surat, p 420.

is

is a fine and fertile country, considered distinctly; but, in comparison of the rest of Arabia, it is a perfect paradise; and if we were to give entire credit to modern travellers, we would go near to add, that it is inhabited by angels [d].

Authors have highly commended the inhabitants of the city of Muskat.

The people, indeed, have embraced the religion of Mohammed, but have not only cancelled whatever seems to favour of sensuality in the Koran, but have also refined upon the morality contained therein to such a degree, that Christian writers, and those too of different nations, describe them as the most uncorrupt, and at the same time the most polite people in the East. They not only refrain from wine and spirits, but from coffee and tea, as liquors drank to delight the palate rather than to answer the necessities of nature, for which plain water or sherbet is, in their opinion, sufficient. The same temperance is observed in eating, and in every thing else; and, with respect to lewdness and debauchery, they are not punished, because they are not known. Robberies are never heard of; and their policy is so exact, that never any necessity is felt capable of exciting men to steal. Their heads are always so cool, that strangers deal with them without trouble: they do strict justice without severity; and where men's misfortunes make charity a virtue, it has no other measure than that of their need. These are qualities that attract reverence and affection, and at the same time establish a confidence which is the very soul of trade. All mercantile transactions are carried on in the day-time; no bargain can be made, no boat can go on shore, after sunset. These circumstances may appear incredible, but they are supported by good authorities, neither have they been contradicted [e].

A description of the island and fortress of Diu.

The island of Diu lies at the entrance of the gulf of Cambaya, in the latitude of 22 deg. 20 min. and at the distance of two hundred leagues from Cape Commorin. The island, or rather peninsula, upon which the city stands, is about a league in length, and about a quarter of a league in breadth [f]. The city is but small, yet well built, and thoroughly fortified, exclusive of the three forts raised for its defence, two of which are very strong, and the third is held impregnable. When the Portuguese em-

[d] Hamilton's Account of the East Indies, vol. i. chap. 7.
[e] Dictionaire Universel de Commerce, tom. ii. col. 705. Ovington's Voyage to Surat, p. 420. [f] Baldæus's Description of the Coasts of Malabar and Coromandel, chap. 7.

pire

pire was in its proſperity, and before Cambaya and Surat were grown into reputation, it was a place of very great trade, and the port always full of ſhips. Notwithſtanding it has been long in a ſtate of gradual decay, it ſtill holds up its head; and though the merchants that reſide there are fewer in number, and do not make quite ſo great a figure as they did, yet they are ſtill in a tolerable condition; and knowing how much their ſecurity depends upon the ſtrength of the garriſon, and the good condition of the works, they very chearfully contribute to the pay of the one and the ſupport of the other. The narrow diſtrict that lies without, ſupplies them tolerably with proviſions, which they are ſo wiſe as to ſell very cheap to the crews of ſuch ſhips as put in here for refreſhments; and have by this moderation preſerved ſeveral branches of commerce that would have been otherwiſe loſt. They maintain a good correſpondence with the people of Guzerat; who, finding their magazines and ſhops well ſupplied with European goods, and lying, as it were, juſt at their doors, commonly prefer this to more diſtant markets [g]. For theſe, and for ſome other reaſons which will appear in their proper place, Diu is looked upon as one of the moſt important fortreſſes yet remaining to the crown of Portugal in the Indies, at the entrance of which it lies, and of which there are ſome writers who ſtyle it the key [h].

The fortreſs of Daman deſcribed.

The firſt place on the continent of the Indies, called the peninſula without the Ganges, belonging to the Portugueſe, is Daman, ſituated on a peninſula at the mouth of the gulf of Cambaya, in the latitude of 21 deg. at an equal diſtance between Surat and Baſſaim. The Portugueſe became maſters of it early, and fortified it regularly [i]. The city is large, and was formerly very populous; the port is but indifferent, but the citadel is reputed one of the beſt fortreſſes in the Indies. There is ſtill ſome trade carried on here, more eſpecially in corn and rice. Some old families are rich; and the place having remained ſo long in the hands of the Portugueſe, they have never wanted a ſufficient force to defend it when attacked, which is the reaſon that it remains in their hands at this time [k]. When the famous emperor of the Indies, Aureng Zîb, came before it with an army of forty thouſand

[g] Hamilton's Account of the Eaſt Indies, vol. i. p. 140, 141.
[h] Dictionaire Univerſel de Commerce, vol. ii. col. 778.
[i] P. Laſitau Hiſtoire des Conqueſtes des Portuguais, vol. iv. p. 200.
[k] Deſcription of the Coaſts of Malabar and Coromandel, by Baldæus, chap. 12.

men,

men, he flattered himself with the hopes of driving the Europeans out of his dominions; but this siege made him entirely alter his notions. It was defended by an old officer, who had under him three of his sons, and a garrison of eight hundred men. The Mogul having made some progress with his artillery, determined to make a general assault on a Sunday morning about break of day. The governor had intelligence of this design, and resolved to save him the labour. About half an hour after midnight he made a sally with six hundred men, upon the strongest post in the Indian army, where all the elephants were kept: he began with throwing in a vast quantity of different kinds of fire-works, and immediately after ordered the drums to beat, and the trumpets to sound. The elephants, frighted with the noise and the light, broke loose, and turned upon their own army. The confusion occasioned by this sudden attack was increased by the Portuguese, of whom two hundred were horse, and did great execution. In short, the Mogul having lost half his men, and all his artillery, retired with precipitation, and made it thenceforward one of his maxims not to attack Europeans any more[l]. Not far from hence lay Bombay, one of the best ports they had, which being given to the English as part of the marriage-portion of the infanta Catherine, there is no necessity of our dwelling upon it longer here.

An account of the fortress of Chaoul.

The city of Chaoul stands in the latitude of 18 deg. 30 min. It is very well situated, and has a very spacious port or bay, the entrance of which, however, is a little difficult. The Portuguese took it in 1507, and improved it prodigiously. About it lies a Mooriſh town, the inhabitants of which are dependent on the Portuguese government[m]. There is a greater number of rich merchants left here than in any place that yet owns obedience to the crown of Portugal. A great many, and those very excellent, silk manufactures, are made here, and a considerable trade is carried on in spices; some ships annually resort hither from China; and here that spirit of diligence and industry, for which the Portuguese were formerly remarkable, still subsists. There are several villages under its jurisdiction; and the adjacent country being extremely fruitful, their farms and plantations turn to a very good

[l] Voyage de Jean Baptiste Tavernier, seconde partie, p. 289.
[m] P. Lafitau Histoire des Conquestes des Portuguais, vol. iv. p. 191. 300.

account,

account, as they ſupply all the neighbouring ſettlements, and part of the Mogul's dominions, with horſes, black cattle, grain, and fruits.

The kingdom and fortreſs of Onor, reduced, yet ſtill inhabited by the Portugueſe.

Onor, in the latitude of 13 degrees 30 minutes, was the capital of a kingdom when the Portugueſe arrived in theſe parts, who firſt owned the prince of it for their ally, and afterwards made him their ſubject. They built a good fort there to maintain their power, and to ſecure the pepper-trade, what is found there being reputed the beſt in the Indies. This fortreſs being very ſtrong, rendered the Portugueſe careleſs; and their ſecurity induced the natives of the country, at the perſuaſion and with the aſſiſtance of the Dutch, to attack, and make themſelves maſters of it, by which meaſure they were enabled to ſhake off the yoke, and have been free ever ſince. There are, however, a great number of Portugueſe inhabitants, who ſtill live there in peace and ſafety; and, if they are not extremely rich, they are at leaſt quiet and content [n].

Strength, trade, and importance, of the city of Cananor, and preſent ſtate of that place.

Cananor is at this day a large and populous city, inhabited chiefly by Mohammedans, who carry on a very conſiderable trade. We have ſhewn how the Portugueſe came to erect a very ſtrong fortreſs here, by which they became entire maſters of the commerce; and, if it had been as well fortified towards the land as it was towards the ſea, it had ſtill remained in all probability in their power; but the Dutch, with the aſſiſtance of the natives, attacked it, and, after the garriſon had made a good defence, granted them an honourable capitulation [o]. The rice of this country is in great eſteem; and, beſides this, they have ſugar, pepper, ginger, and other rich commodities; ſo that it is computed that not leſs than two hundred ſail of ſhips arrive annually in the port, which is now open to all the European nations that have ſettlements in the Indies.

Calicut abandoned by the Portugueſe, a place of great trade, and ſtill in the hands of the Samorin.

Calicut was the capital of the Samorin, or emperor of Malabar, and, as we have ſhewn, the firſt port viſited by the Portugueſe, when, by doubling the Cape of Good Hope, they opened a direct paſſage by ſea to the Indies. Here, after long wars, in which many thouſands of people were conſumed, they erected a ſtrong fort, and were abſolute maſters of the trade till about the beginning of the laſt century, when the Dutch began to interfere with them, and made a league with the Samorin, whom they aſſiſted in his wars againſt the Portugueſe, and enabled him more

[n] Baldæus's Deſcription of the Coaſts of Malabar and Coromandel, chap. 16.

[o] Guyon Hiſtoire des Indes Orientales, tom. ii p. 85.

than

than once to distress them exceedingly: yet they defended themselves so gallantly, that their enemies were not able to reduce them by force; but what violence could not effect, was quickly brought about by dissensions amongst themselves; which threw their affairs into such confusion, that at length they blew up their fort, and abandoned the place to the natives. It still remains a place of great trade, the French, English, Dutch, and Danes, having factories there; and the bazar, or *market-place*, is esteemed the finest in that part of the world [p]. Pepper, fine linens, salt-petre, sweet-scented woods, and rice, are the chief commodities. The sand of the river, which falls into the port, is mixed with grains of very fine gold; and the poorer inhabitants obtain a subsistence by washing them out, which is very hard labour [q].

A.D.1504. *The past and present condition of the fortresses and districts of Cranganor and Cochin.*

Cranganor, the capital of a small kingdom of the same name, was a place where the Portuguese had a very strong fort, which obliged the natives to remove their town to some distance. That belonging to the Portuguese was one of the fairest and finest places in the Indies, and the chief residence of the Christians of St. Thomas. The Portuguese settled here very early; and continued in absolute possession, to the great grief of the natives [r], till their fort was attacked and taken by the Dutch, who granted the garrison a good capitulation, and transported them to Portugal. The kingdom of Cochin was in the like condition, that is, had two capitals, one belonging to the Portuguese, and the other to the natives. The former, we have shewn, was the first place they had in the Indies; and the people, whether better used, or longer acquainted with the Portu-

A.D.1667. guese, remained always faithful to them. This place, after a good defence, was taken by the Dutch, who found it a large well-built city, and many public structures in it, some of which are now wholly ruined [s].

Account of the fortress and country of Choulan, the last of any consequence on the coast of Malabar.

Choulan is the capital of the last and the least kingdom on the coast of Malabar, its whole extent being fifteen leagues. It was divided into the upper and lower town, the former belonging to the natives, and the latter to the Portuguese; and a very fine place it was, in which they had several monasteries, seven handsome churches, a noble exchange, and a stately castle built of free-stone, in which the Portuguese governor resided. The port was spacious,

[p] Baldæus's Description of the Coasts of Malabar and Coromandel, chap. 17. [q] Hamilton's Account of the East Indies, vol. i. p. 309. [r] Guyon Histoire des Indes, tom ii. p. 93. [s] Baldæus's Description, &c. chap. 80.

and

and ſafe for ſmall veſſels, which drew a great trade to the place, rendering it very populous, and many of its inhabitants rich [t]. The Dutch made themſelves once maſters of it, and could not keep it; for the people ſurpriſed their garriſon, cut their throats, and reſtored it to the Portugueſe, from whom it was again taken, after a long and bloody ſiege; ſince which period it is much decayed, and many marks of its former magnificence are reduced to ruins [u]. This is the laſt place of any great conſequence between the river Indus and Cape Commorin, which is the point that terminates the peninſula that was formerly in the hands of the Portugueſe, of whom it may be truly ſaid, that if they had built fewer and larger fortreſſes, and had been as ſtudious to repreſs luxury as they were to reduce the natives, they might have retained much longer that empire, the acquiſition of which does ſo much honour both to their courage and conduct. A.D. 1661.

The Portugueſe received, build a fort by permiſſion; but, growing inſolent, are expelled the Maldives.

The Maldives are ſo ſituated, that it was impoſſible the Portugueſe ſhould be for any time ſettled in the Indies without being acquainted with them, ſince the moſt northern of theſe iſlands lie but fifty leagues from Cape Commorin. They extend from eight degrees of north latitude to four degrees of ſouth in length, conſequently near two hundred leagues; but they are not above thirty or thirty-five leagues in breadth, in any part of the Archipelago [w]. Within this ſpace are contained a prodigious number of iſlands; ſo that even in the time of Ptolemy, that is, in the ſecond century, they were accounted upwards of thirteen hundred; but the inhabitants maintain, that a ſmall part of them only were then known; for their ſovereign takes the title of ſoltân of the Maldives, king of thirteen provinces and twelve thouſand iſles [x]. Admiral Suarez diſcovered them in 1507; and he made an alliance with their king, which was confirmed by Sequeira, who demanded leave to build a fort upon the iſle of Male, the largeſt of them, and the chief city of the ſame name is the capital of their monarchy, which is ancient, rich, and powerful [y]. John Gomez, who was ſent thither for this purpoſe, met with a favourable reception, and, by dint of preſents, prevailed upon the king to agree to his demand. He built this fort of wood, there not being either ſtone

[t] Hamilton's Account of the Eaſt Indies, vol. i. p. 333. [u] Baldæus's Deſcription, &c. chap. 21. [w] Voyage aux Indes, par Mandelſlo, p. 284. Ptolemæi Geogr. lib. viii. [x] Guyon Hiſtoire des Indes, vol. ii. p. 187. [y] P. Lafitau Hiſtoire des Conqueſtes des Portuguais, tom. ii. p. 297.

or

or lime in the island. It was extremely well situated, and commanded the port, so that it might have been of great service to the Portuguese if he had behaved as became him; but no sooner was the fort finished, than, presuming on the terror of the Portuguese name, he began to lord it over all the strangers that traded thither, though his garrison consisted but of seventeen men; which insolence occasioned a conspiracy of the Mohammedans against him, who, attacking him when he expected it least, cut off him and all his people to a man, levelling the fort with the ground. The Portuguese were never afterwards able to obtain any establishment in the Maldives [z].

At the time the Portuguese were masters in these parts, the taking of oysters in the streight betwixt the island of Ceylon and the continent, was styled by way of excellence, the Fishery, and very deservedly; for though some prefer the pearls taken near the island of Baharen in the Persian gulf, and those likewise found on the coast of China at Hainan, yet it might be very easily proved, from the comparison of the annual amount of those fisheries within this period, that they were very seldom superior to this of which we are speaking [a]. It was one of the wisest points in the Portuguese policy, that, though they were really in possession of this beneficial commerce, yet they chose to dissemble it, and took all imaginable precautions in order to make the natives believe that they were perfectly free, and that their interposition was not so much the effects of authority as of good-will; it was for this reason that they never pretended to erect any fort either at Tutucorin or at Calipatnam, two towns upon the continent, from whence most of the fishers and their barks came, and that they suffered the ancient customs to take place [b].

The season of the fishery was the latter end of April, or the beginning of May, sometimes sooner, sometimes later, according to the weather. The direction of it was left entirely to the sovereign of the country, called the Naik; and the Portuguese, in quality of the protectors of the sea, sent two frigates to defend the fishing-vessels from the Malabar and Maldive pirates. The time which this pearl-fishing lasted was about a fortnight, of the beginning of which the Naik gave public notice; and, the day being come, there repaired to the place assigned several thousands of people of all sexes and ages, and an indefinite number of fishing ves-

[z] Maffæi Hist. Indica, p. i. lib. vii. cap. 7. Natur. des Indes de Joseph Acosta, lib. iv. cap. 15. de Jean Baptiste Tavernier, seconde partie, p. 362.

[a] Histoire

[b] Voyage

sels,

ſels, and divers from five or ſix hundred to a thouſand or more. Upon a ſignal given, the boats put to ſea; and, having choſe their proper ſtations, the divers plunged, and brought up the oyſters in little baſkets upon their heads; with which the boats being ſufficiently laden, they were carried on ſhore, where the people who remained there for that purpoſe buried them in the ſand, till, by the heat of the ſun, the fiſh was corrupted and conſumed, and the pearls eaſily taken out. The whole product of the firſt day's fiſhery belonged to the Naik; and, after that deduction, what was caught every day was ſeparated, and particularly diſtinguiſhed, but went to the common profit. The whole number of people employed at ſea and on ſhore amounted frequently to fifty or ſixty thouſand ſouls; and the pavilions and tents ſet up for their accommodation made a fine appearance at a diſtance. When the pearls were extracted, cleanſed, and dried, they paſſed them through a kind of ſieves, by which their ſizes were diſtinguiſhed. When all was over, the Naik appointed a time and place for the public market; in conſequence of which there was a kind of fair, that laſted commonly from the cloſe of June till the beginning of September. The ſmalleſt, which are what we call ſeed-pearl, they ſold by weight; and all the reſt according to their reſpective ſizes and beauty, from a few ſhillings up to ten or twenty pounds, and ſometimes more a-piece; but there were few buyers, except the Portugueſe merchants, who, bringing ready money, had good bargains, and thus all parties were pleaſed [c]. The Portugueſe aſſumed the protection of this fiſhery very ſoon after they ſettled in the Indies, and held it till the year 1658, when, in conſequence of their loſſes in Ceylon, and elſewhere, it fell into the hands of the Dutch, who have remained in poſſeſſion of it ever ſince [d] (O).

We

[c] Dictionaire Univerſel de Commerce, tom. ii. col. 787. [d] Baldæus's Deſcription of the Coaſts of Malabar and Coromandel, chap. 22.

(O) The Dutch have changed this method, as we are informed by a perſon very well acquainted with their affairs; the courſe into which they have put it is, in few words, this: the camp is ſometimes held on the coaſt of Madura, upon the continent; ſometimes on the iſland of Manar, which is in the hands of the Dutch, who, notwithſtanding, follow the example of the Portugueſe, and lay claim to no higher title than that of protectors of the fiſhery, in which quality their commiſ-

Of the names, extent, condition, product, and government, of Ceylon, when discovered by Suarez.

We come next to that beautiful island which lies beyond the Maldives, to the south of Cape Commorin, the name of which, differently written by modern writers, is Ceylon, Ceylan, or Ceilon, called by the inhabitants Lamca, which in their language signifies *the Terrestrial Paradise*, or *Holy Land*, a name given by its first king Vijia Rajah, who is supposed to have flourished five hundred years before Christ [e]. It was afterwards called Ilanara, or Tranate, which is as much as to say *the insular kingdom*; and Hibenaro, or *the Fertile Island*; and Tenarisim, or *the country of delight*. The Arabians call it Serendib, or rather Serendive. It is by many held to be the largest, and is beyond controversy one of the richest and finest islands in the world. The Portuguese settled here in 1506, under the conduct of Lawrence Almeyda, who erected a column with an inscription, testifying that he took possession of that country on behalf of Emanuel, king of Portugal, because it had no master; though at the very same time he treated with the emperor of Ceylon, and promised him the protection of his monarch, in consideration of two thousand five hundred quintals of fine cinnamon, as an annual tribute [f]. In 1520 they built a fort here, and began to settle; and afterwards assumed an absolute power

[e] Guyon Histoire des Indes Orientales, tom. ii. p. 193, 194.
[f] Baldæus's Description of the Island of Ceylon, chap. 2.

commissary is ever in the camp, as well as the naik, or *sovereign of the country*, who is also the rajah of Tanjour. The oysters caught every day are put up in tuns or barrels, of which when a certain number are full, they put them up to sale by way of auction; and the merchants bid according as they have an opinion of the year, that is, of the state of the oysters for the season; but the middle price is between thirty or forty shillings sterling per cask. When a merchant has bought such a lot as this, he carries it to his quarters; and, after a certain number of days, he proceeds to opening the oysters, but always in the air, for the stench is so great as to be almost insupportable. They open them over tubs, into which they pour what comes out of the oyster, as also that muddy water that remains in the cask; next they draw it out into cullenders of several sizes, and at length perhaps they find four or five shillings worth of pearls, sometimes to the value of ten or twelve pounds; so that it is a perfect lottery, by which some few becoming rich, it betrays numbers into beggary (1).

(1) From a MS. Memoir of M. Garvin.

over

over a great part of the iſland, under colour of the emperor's will, who made the Portugueſe heirs of his dominions. The trade they carried on was very conſiderable; and the commodities they drew from hence were long pepper, fine cotton, ivory, ſilk, tobacco, ebony, muſk, cryſtal, ſalt-petre, ſulphur, lead, iron, ſteel, copper, beſides the three capital articles of cinnamon, precious ſtones, and elephants. As ſoon as the Dutch came into the Indies, they formed deſigns of making themſelves maſters of ſo valuable a place [g]. They made their firſt deſcent in the year 1602, and carried on ſometimes open wars, ſometimes ſecret contrivances, againſt the Portugueſe, till, in the ſpace of about fifty-five years, they abſolutely drove or wormed them out of Ceylon, making themſelves maſters of Colombo and Negombo, which were the principal places in the iſland, and of the ſtrong fortreſs of Punto Gallo, which commands the beſt haven in Ceylon. The Portugueſe held their eſtabliſhments here for about a hundred and fifty years, under ſixteen captain-generals, from Don Pedro Lopez de Souſa, who was the firſt, down to Don Antonio d'Amiral y Menezez, who was the laſt. Thoſe beſt acquainted with the hiſtory of the Indies in general, and of this iſland in particular, agree, that it was loſt, after ſo long a poſſeſſion, through the covetouſneſs and pride of the governors, and the luxury, lazineſs, and cowardice, of the ſoldiers.

The ſtate of Negapatan at the time it was poſſeſſed by the Portugueſe, and ever ſince.

The firſt place of note that occurs on the coaſt of Coromandel, that relates to our ſubject, is Negapatan, that is, in the language of the natives, the *City of Serpents*, ſo called not only becauſe the country behind it is very full of ſerpents, but likewiſe on account of a kind of religious reſpect that is paid them by the natives, who look upon it as a ſort of impiety to kill them. When the Portugueſe came into the Indies, this was very little better than a ſtraggling village, or at moſt but an open town; but they, quickly perceiving the uſes that might be made of it, and more eſpecially how conducive it would be to the ſecurity of their trade in the gulf of Bengal, not only erected walls, but improved it in other reſpects to ſuch a degree, that it became a fair and beautiful city, adorned with ſeveral fine churches, and a ſuperb college belonging to the Jeſuits [h]. They held it till they loſt the iſland of Ceylon; and it be-

[g] Recueil des Voyages qui ont ſervi à l'Eſtabliſſement de la Compagnie des Indes Orientales, tom. iv. p. 90, 91. [h] Baldæus's Deſcription of the Coaſts of Malabar and Coromandel, chap. 22.

A.D. 1658. came then a place of such consequence to the Dutch, that they practised upon the king, or prince of Tanjour, to abandon his old allies the Portuguese, and by his assistance became masters of it [i]. The Portuguese knew the value of it too well to part with it easily, or to forget the loss of it soon; and therefore they made a great effort to recover it; in which they succeeded, but did not keep it long; for the Dutch were now grown so strong in the Indies, and had dispossessed the Portuguese of so many places, that it was impossible for them to relieve it when besieged; this was the reason that the Dutch became masters of it again, A.D. 1662. and have continued so ever since [k]. It is at this time a place of very great trade, though the port is not extraordinary; and almost all the different nations in the Indies, Moors, Indians, and Armenians, are here settled, and trade under the protection of the fort.

Meliapour, or St. Thomas, is commonly looked on as the same city, how adorned and how decayed.

Meliapour, which lies ten miles to the north of the English settlement at Fort St. George, was of old the capital of the kingdom of Coromandel; and partly on its ruins, partly in its neighbourhood, the Portuguese erected the stately city of St. Thomas, or, as it is commonly called, St. Thome, which is the reason that, notwithstanding, some travellers distinguish between the Indian and the Christian city, yet most writers consider them as the same place; which, if it be an error, is however not very inexcusable [l]. It was, and indeed still is, inhabited by weavers and dyers, and noted for making the best coloured stuffs in India, which they transport to Malacca, Java, the Molucca Islands, Siam, Pegu, &c. The excellency of the dye is attributed to the peculiar quality of the water which arises out of springs in white sandy ground, without any clay. It was desolate at the arrival of the Portuguese, who rebuilt it in 1545; and it increased to that degree in buildings and inhabitants, that in a few years it was one of the finest cities in the Indies. It is fortified with a stone wall and several bastions, and has above three hundred towns and villages under its jurisdiction. When it was in the hands of the Portuguese, it was first subject to the see of Cochin, and afterwards made a bishoprick under the archbishop of Goa. They had several churches, where the Mahometans and Pagans were instructed and baptized, besides others, with two mona-

[i] Guyon Histoire des Indes, tom. ii. p. 100. [k] Hamilton's Account of the East Indies, vol. i. c. 28. [l] Guyon Histoire des Indes, tom. ii. p. 119.

steries

ſteries and a college of Jeſuits here, where the Portugueſe and Malabar children were inſtructed. Next to the college was a very large pariſh, inhabited by none but converts [m]. There is alſo the famous church of St. Thomas the Apoſtle, who, the Portugueſe ſay, was buried here, and pretend to ſhew his ſepulchre on the top of a neighbouring mountain, over which they have built a ſmall chapel, that is ſeen off at ſea. Near the college, upon a pretty high hill, there is another chapel, which they pretend was the apoſtle's dormitory; and they have adorned that part, where he uſed to ſay his prayers, with gilt iron ſteps. They likewiſe ſhew a ſtone croſs, which they pretend fell from heaven in that apoſtle's time, and have covered it with an arch. The wood of this chapel is looked on as a precious relic; ſo that pilgrims frequently carry away little bits of it, and ſet them in gold. The city had ſeven gates, and was very ſtrong from its ſituation, being covered by the ſea on one ſide, and by a chain of mountains on the other; yet the Moors took it, after a long ſiege, and are ſtill in poſſeſſion; the road is very ſafe from April to September, when the ſouth and ſouth-weſt winds blow; but not in the other ſeaſon, when ſhips of any conſiderable burthen are obliged to retire into ſome of the adjacent ports [n]. A.D. 1661.

By what imprudence the Portugueſe loſt their influence in the kingdom of Pegu.

It appears from their own hiſtories, that even in the time of their higheſt proſperity the Portugueſe contented themſelves with theſe ſettlements on the coaſt of Coromandel, though their trade in thoſe parts was of very great importance; but then they took great care to keep theſe places in a good ſtate of defence, and maintained in each of them a very numerous garriſon for their preſervation, reſtraining the reſt of the coaſt by their ſquadrons continually cruiſing in the bay of Bengal. On the oppoſite ſide of that gulf the Portugueſe had once very great power in the kingdom of Pegu, in conſequence of their aſſiſting the king againſt his neighbour of Siam, who had invaded his territories; and would very probably have made him his tributary, if a ſmall body of Portugueſe had not come to his aſſiſtance, by whom he was enabled not only to defend himſelf againſt his enemy, but even to carry the war into his own country. It is eaſy to diſcern what advantages might have accrued to the Portugueſe from this favourable turn, if they had known how to improve it;

[m] Baldæus's Deſcription of the Coaſts of Malabar and Coromandel, chap. 23 [n] Atlas Geograph. vol. iii. p. 596.

but we learn from a late author, that what might have turned so much to their benefit, proved by their own ill management, the cause of their ruin [o].

The great commerce carried on in the kingdom of Siam by the Portuguese, in their prosperity.

The empire of Siam lies next to Pegu, and is a country of vast extent, the monarch of which was too powerful for the Portuguese to think of making any conquests in his dominions; and therefore they chose to live with him upon good terms, for the sake of the advantageous trade carried on through his territories, which for that purpose are extremely well situated, having on one side the kingdoms of Laos, Camboyda, and Cochin-china, and on the other the countries bordering on the gulf of Bengal [p]. Besides, there annually resorted thither a fleet of merchant ships from China, laden with all the rich goods of that empire. The Portuguese continued to hold a fair correspondence with this monarch and his subjects, as long as their power subsisted in the Indies; but by degrees the Dutch have long since in a great measure excluded them from their influence here; and have wrought themselves so effectually into the confidence of these kings, as to have obtained an exclusive privilege of purchasing all the tin in their dominions, which is a branch of commerce of prodigious importance [q]; yet the Portuguese are not wholly ejected, though their trade is little or nothing now, in comparison of what it was.

Malacca exceedingly improved, as well as strongly fortified by the same nation.

At the time the Portuguese first came into the Indian seas, the great peninsula of Malacca was subject to the king of Johore; and by what means the viceroys of the crown of Portugal were led to attack and make themselves masters of that city, has been already shewn. After it fell into their hands, it changed its condition; and, in a very short time, became famous all over India and Europe, lying almost in the centre of trade, brought thither by shipping from the rich kingdoms of Japan, China, Formosa, Luconia, Tonquin, Cochin-china, Cambodia, and Siam; besides what Johore produced, and Sumatra, Java, Borneo, Macassar, Banda, Amboyna, and Ternate, islands that abound in the most valuable commodities [r]. After Goa and Ormuz, this was by far the richest city in the Indies, and a great market for all the different commodities that these countries produced. It was the seat of a bishop; and the cathedral church, dedicated to St. Paul, was ex-

[o] Hamilton's Account of the East Indies, vol. ii. p. 36. [p] Voyage aux Indes, par Mandelslo, p. 304. 331. [q] Tavernier, tom. iv. lib. viii. cap. 18. [r] P. Lafitau Histoire des Conquestes des Portuguais, vol. ii. p. 117, 130.

tremely

tremely elegant. They had, beſides, five other pariſh-churches, and a noble college for the Jeſuits, together with a ſeminary, in which all new converts to the faith were inſtructed. The whole was encompaſſed with a ſtrong ſtone wall, regularly fortified with baſtions, the place extremely well peopled, and the garriſon numerous and well ſupplied, becauſe the Portugueſe conſidered it as the eaſtern frontier of their dominions, which therefore could not be kept too ſecure [s].

Became early the object of the Dutch ambition, who at length reduced it.

In 1605 the Dutch attacked and deſtroyed a fleet of Portugueſe here, conſiſting of thirty-four ſail, on board of which were three thouſand men; but notwithſtanding this victory, they were not able to take the place. Next year the king of Johore inveſted it with an army of ſixty thouſand men, in revenge of what the Portugueſe had done againſt him three years before, when they took and deſtroyed his capital. However, he alſo was obliged to raiſe the ſiege with great loſs. But the Dutch, well knowing the importance of the place, and the vaſt advantages accruing to the Portugueſe from its ſituation and commerce, the former affording them an opportunity of levying ten per cent. upon all veſſels paſſing through the ſtraits of Malacca, and the latter producing annually a large revenue, they attacked it, in the year 1640, ſo vigorouſly, that they became maſters of it, after a ſiege of ſix months. The walls and fortifications they preſerved, as alſo the church of St. Paul; but moſt of the other churches they have deſtroyed, and the great hoſpital they have turned into a ware-houſe. The language ſpoken here is eſteemed the moſt copious and polite in the Indies, and therefore ſerves as a kind of general tongue through all the iſlands and provinces lying farther to the eaſt. In the kingdom of Cambodia, or Camboya, the Portugueſe have ſtill a conſiderable trade, and they are likewiſe well received in Tonquin; but what little commerce they now carry on ſerves rather to keep them from ſtarving in the Indies than to enrich, or to enable them to make any returns to Europe, with which they have in truth little or no connection, and about which conſequently, they cannot have much concern [t].

[s] Maffæi, p. ii. lib xiv. cap. 1. [t] Guyon Hiſtoir des Indes, vol. ii. p. 159. Voyages aux Indes, par Mandelſlo, p. 344.

Methodical Detail of their Concerns in respect to Sumatra, Java, Borneo, Celebes or Macassar, Moluccas, and New Guiney; with a Detection of the false Policy and tyrannical Usage of the Natives, by which they rendered themselves odious, and opened a Way for the Dutch to subvert their Power, and raise a new, though not a milder, Government on their Ruins.

The Portuguese, by making a few settlements on the coasts, secured the commerce of Sumatra.

THE island of Sumatra, which extends itself north-west and south-east, fronting the peninsula of Malacca, is divided by the equinoxial into nearly two equal parts, extending to six degrees of latitude north and south. It is about two hundred and fifty leagues in length, sixty in breadth, and five hundred in circumference. The Portuguese went thither first under the command of Don Diego Lopez de Seguira[u]. They found the country very rich and fruitful, and under the dominion of several petty princes, who were continually at war with each other. One would have imagined that these distractions must have afforded them an opportunity of subjecting it entirely; but it happened otherwise; for the people by their continual disputes among themselves, were become so well acquainted with the art of war, that the Portuguese could make no great impressions; but contented themselves with a few settlements on the coast, by which they were enabled to carry on a very lucrative trade with the inhabitants not only in sulphur, rice, ginger, pepper, camphor, cassia, sandal, and other rich woods and drugs, but also in fine tin, iron, copper, silver, gold, and diamonds. The crown of Portugal had frequent disputes with the princes in possession of dominions within the compass of this island, and sometimes gained considerable advantages over them; but were never able to subdue them, or reduce any of their pricipalitities under their power. They would likewise have been very well pleased to erect here, as well as in other places, some convenient citadel or fortress, which by degrees would have given them an opportunity of controlling the natives: but this permission they could never obtain. The Dutch infested this island from the close of the sixteenth century; and, as their power increased, began, as usual, to exclude all other nations; but the inhabitants soon shook off their yoke, and are still in a great measure free. It is for this reason, probably, that almost all our European nations concur in treating these people as

[u] Maffæi Hist. Indica, p. i. lib. iv. cap. 4. Casteneda.

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the moſt cruel, barbarous, and perfidious, in the Indies, without ever conſidering that theſe very epithets may be juſtly retorted upon ſuch as endeavour to deprive them of their liberties and their poſſeſſions, without the leaſt colour of right. But to wave reflections, as improper in this place, let us proceed to the other great iſlands, and ſay ſomewhat of their ſtate and condition during the dominion of the Portugueſe in theſe parts.

The Portugueſe engaged in frequent wars with the ſovereigns of Bantam, in the iſland of Java.

The noble iſland of Java was known and viſited by the Portugueſe about the beginning of the ſixteenth century, chiefly on account of the trouble given them by the pirates fitted out from Bantam, or, as they call it, Bintam, and other places in the ſame iſland. Theſe depredations provoked Don Pedro Maſcarenhas to attack Bantam, which he took and plundered, though George Albuquerque had attempted it in vain [w]. Java Major lies ſouth-eaſt from the peninſula of Malacca, having Sumatra lying before it, from whence it is ſeparated by a narrow paſſage, now ſo famous in the world by the name of the ſtreights of Sonda. Authors vary as to its dimenſions; but the moſt moderate allow it nine hundred miles in circuit. The air is generally eſteemed more wholeſome than in any of the iſles before mentioned, the country exceeding fruitful, and the coaſt abounding with good ports. The Javaneſe pretend, that they are deſcended from the pure and unmixed race of the old inhabitants of China, who retired thither when their country was over-run by the Tartars; but before the Portugueſe came, they had not only mixed with other neighbouring nations, but were alſo become Mohammedans [x]. The iſland at that time was cantoned out among a number of little princes, ſome more, ſome leſs powerful, but moſt of them maſters of ſome force by ſea. The Portugueſe generals ſaw plainly enough that they had not ſtrength ſufficient to keep this large iſland, and therefore contented themſelves with making a new king of Bantam when they had taken it, and accepted from him an annual tribute.

Before the Europeans came into the Indies, the inhabitants of theſe iſlands more conſiderable than ſince.

Panarucan, a ſmall city, the capital of a little principality of the ſame name, having a commodious port, owed much to their protection, and was raiſed to be one of the principal marts of the whole country, where they not only dealt in rice, pepper, and other commodities of the iſland, but alſo in gold, precious ſtones, and ſpices,

[w] Maffæi, p. ii. lib. ix. cap. 2.

[x] Nieuhoff's Voyages to the Eaſt Indies, p. 301.

brought

brought from other places, and more especially from the adjacent islands. But since the Dutch became masters of Batavia, and the emperor of Materan, and the king of Bantam, have divided the island between them, this place is become a fishing-village, and all its trade is entirely lost. It may be with truth affirmed, whatever some travellers may insinuate to the contrary, that the inhabitants of these islands in general, and of this in particular, are fallen much below the state in which the Europeans found them. No Javanese monarch can now, as they did then, equip a fleet of thirty sail of large ships; the admiral so strongly, though so clumsily built, as to be absolutely cannon-proof. All the princes together are not now able to expel the Dutch; whereas a petty king, or even a queen, in those days, could furnish a force sufficient to besiege Malacca, when it was the best fortress in the Indies, both by land and sea; and not to besiege it only, but to reduce it to great extremities [x].

How the Portuguese came to correspond with the inhabitants of the island of Borneo.

It was above thirty years after the Portuguese arrived in the Indies before they were acquainted with any thing more than the name of the island of Borneo, and its situation, by reason of their frequently passing by its coasts. About that time captain Edward Conil had orders to examine it more narrowly; and being once acquainted with the worth of the country, they made frequent voyages thither. This island, which is almost of a circular figure, lies, at least part of it, under the equator, being about five hundred leagues in circumference, and abounding with the richest commodities; the hills afford gold, and the finest diamonds in India found in its rivers, washed down, probably, from the hills, by the torrents that pour from their lofty summits. They found the coasts inhabited by Malayan Moors, who certainly had established themselves there by conquest; but the original inhabitants still remain in the mountains, and are styled Beajus, which in the Malayan tongue signifies *Savage*. The Moors are governed by several kings, the chief of whom are those of Banjar Massen, Succadon, and Borneo [y].

Some account of the Beajus, or reputed savages who dwell in that island.

The Beajus have no kings, but many little chiefs. Those that are subjects to the king of Manjar, pay a tribute; but such as live farther up the country, and in places inaccessible to the Moors, are absolutely independent, and live according to their own customs. The Beajus are gene-

x P. Lafitau Histoire des Conquetes des Portuguais, tom. iv. p. 11. y Guyon Histoire des Indes Orientales, vol. ii. p. 227.

rally

rally very ſuperſtitious, and much addicted to augury. They do not adore idols; but their ſacrifices of ſweet wood and perfumes are offered to one God, who they believe rewards the juſt in heaven, and puniſhes the wicked in hell. They do not admit of polygamy; and they look upon any breach of conjugal faith as ſo heinous an offence, that every one contrives the death of the perſon tranſgreſſing; therefore the women are very modeſt and reſerved, eſpecially the maidens, who are not ſeen by their huſbands till the wedding-day. Theſe people are naturally honeſt, induſtrious, and have a brotherly affection for each other. They have a notion of property, which yet does not render them covetous. They ſow, and cultivate their lands; but in the time of harveſt, each reaps ſo much as will ſerve his family, and the reſt belongs to the whole tribe in common, by which method they provide againſt neceſſity and diſputes. The coaſts of the iſland were and are chiefly inhabited by Moors, with whom the Portugueſe traded to great advantage, when they found it not ſo eaſy to conquer them, and entered into an alliance with the king of Borneo, which was very advantageous to both parties[z]. A.D. 1530.

What intercourſe there was between the Portugueſe and the people of Celebes or Macaſſar.

About the ſame time that they ſettled a correſpondence with the people of the laſt mentioned iſland, they became acquainted likewiſe with Celebes and its inhabitants, ſome ſay by accident, others by the ſhipwreck of ſome of their veſſels; but it is generally agreed that their knowlege was but ſuperficial, till one of their governors of the Moluccas, Antonio Galvano, ſent two of the natives, whom he had converted to Chriſtianity, back to their own country, where they brought numbers to embrace the goſpel, and eſtabliſhed a good underſtanding between the people in general and the Portugueſe. The great iſland of Celebes is divided from Borneo by the ſtreights of Macaſſar. Argenſola, and other authors, tell us the natives are of a white complexion, and that they were formerly much addicted to piracy. There were originally ſeven kingdoms or principalities in this iſland, the princes of which met together, and choſe a monarch, who had a limited power or authority, which extended over the whole iſland; and whom, in caſe of tyranny, they depoſed[a]. The diſcovery of ſo conſiderable a country was looked upon by the Portugueſe as a matter of great conſequence;

[z] P. Lafitau Hiſtoire des Conquetes des Portuguais, vol. iii. p. 221. [a] Gervaiſe Hiſtoire de Macaſſar, p. 31.

and

and measures were taken to secure the affections of the inhabitants, whom it was not found easy to conquer [b].

The motives on which the latter disliked and resolved to abandon the religion of their ancestors.

These people were much braver, and more sagacious than most of the Indians. After a little conversation with the Europeans, they began to discern that there was no sense or meaning in their own religion, which abounded with the most absurd fables. They therefore renounced it unanimously, and became Deists at once [c]. But having still doubts, they determined to send at the same time to Malacca, and to Achin, to desire from the one Christian priests, and from the other doctors of the Mohammedan law, resolving to embrace that religion, the teachers of which should first arrive [d].

How unaccountably the Portuguese missed so fair an occasion of establishing the Christian faith.

The Portuguese have hitherto been esteemed zealous enough for their religion; but it seems that Don Ruy Perera, who was then governor of Malacca, was a little deficient in his concern for the faith, since he made a great and very unnecessary delay in sending the priests that were desired. On the other hand, the queen of Achin, being a furious Mohammedan, no sooner received an account of this disposition in the people of the island of Celebes, than she dispatched a vessel full of doctors of the law, who established their religion effectually among the inhabitants. Some time after came the Christian priests, and inveighed bitterly against the law of Mohammed, but to no purpose; the people of Celebes had made their choice, and there was no bringing them to alter it [e]. One of the kings of this island, indeed, who had before embraced Christianity, persisted in the faith, and most of his subjects were converted to it; but still the bulk of the people of Celebes continued Mohammedans, and are so to this day, and the warmest zealots for their religion of any in the Indies. But this difference in religion did not hinder them from living on very good terms with the Portuguese, who established a better trade there than in any other part of the Indies; for finding few rich commodities, and but little opportunity of encroaching on the liberties of the nation, they were glad to treat them as a free people; and the situation of the country being extremely happy for that purpose, made it very soon, in respect to the adjacent islands, the centre of commerce [f].

[b] Maffæi Hist. Indica, p. ii. lib. x. cap. 11. [c] Galvano's Discourses. [d] Le P. Alex. de Rhodes Voiages aux Indes, p. 293. [e] Guyon Histoire des Indes Orientales, tom. ii. p. 230. [f] Gervaise Histoire de Macassar, p. 233.

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The great iſland of Borneo, abounding in gold, diamonds, pepper, and other rich commodities, lies but one day's ſail from thence; Amboyna, and the Spice Iſlands, not above three or four; the kingdoms of Siam, Camboyda, Cochin-china, and Tonquin, the empire of China, and the Philippine Iſlands, within three hundred leagues: we need not wonder, therefore, that the port of Jampodan, the beſt and moſt capacious in all that part of the world, ſhould be conſtantly full of ſhips, and the great towns on the coaſt become places of prodigious trade. The people themſelves were very induſtrious, and at leaſt as well ſkilled in navigation as any of their neighbours; and though they had not very rich commodities, except gold, and that in no great quantities, yet they had plenty of rice, eſteemed the beſt in the Indies, as their cotton is allowed to be the fineſt; with thoſe they traded to the Moluccas, and from thence brought ſuch vaſt quantities of ſpices, that they drove a very conſiderable trade in them with their neighbours and the Europeans [g].

The happy ſituation of this country in reſpect to commerce.

This iſland is ſometimes called Celebes, and at others Macaſſar; becauſe the former, which lies in the north-weſt part of the iſland, and the latter, which takes up all the ſouth, were the principal kingdoms of the iſland; eſpecially the laſt, the monarchs of which were very powerful, and frequently maſters of the beſt part of the iſland. Their ſubjects, the boldeſt and braveſt of all the Indians, are likewiſe remarkable for having a conſummate knowlege in poiſons, which are ſome of them of ſo deadly a nature, that the very touch or ſmell of them is inſtantly and infallibly mortal. The men make uſe of them to envenom the heads of their arrows, or rather darts, which they blow through hollow trunks, and that, with ſuch force and dexterity, that they will hit a ſmall mark at the diſtance of eighty yards [h]. They dip all the points of their daggers in the ſame poiſonous drugs; and the very ſcratch of either dart or dagger kills without remedy. The women likewiſe make uſe of theſe poiſons to gratify their revenge; for as they themſelves are extremely conſtant in their affection, ſo they have very quick reſentments in caſes of infidelity, eſpecially in regard to Europeans, who frequently cohabit with them, and ſometimes marry them [i]. As they were the allies, not the ſubjects of the Portugueſe, ſo they

Of the temper, genius, good and bad qualities of the natives.

[g] Recueil des Voyages qui ont ſervi a l'Etabliſſement de la Compagnie des Indies Orientales, tom. v. p. 223. [h] Nieuhoff's Voyages to the Eaſt Indies, p. 316. [i] Gervaiſe Hiſtoire de Macaſſar.

were

were much more attached to that nation than any other Indians, and gave a very hospitable reception to such as, on the ruin of their colonies, fled thither for protection. The Dutch reduced the king of Macassar, after a long war, in 1667, and prescribed to him very hard terms, particularly these; that he should deliver up to them the harbour of Jompadan; expel all the Portuguese out of his dominions; and lastly, renounce all commerce with the Spice Islands, without which his conquerors could not have monopolized them, and kept him in servile subjection [k].

When they first visited the Moluccas.

The Moluccas, or Spice Islands, were not discovered by the Portuguese till the year 1511, and then, as it were, by chance. Francis Serrano, Diego d'Abreu, and Ferdinand Magellan, being sent to make discoveries, were separated by a storm; the first penetrated as far as Ternate; the two latter discovered only the island of Amboyna, and afterwards that of Banda. They spent about eight years in these discoveries, which cost Serrano his life in his return. Antonio de Brito succeeded Serrano in the government, and built a fort at Ternate, under colour of protecting the king of that island, who was an infant, but in reality with an intention to establish the power of the Portuguese over the king and his subjects likewise [l]. In the mean time Ferdinand Magellan, having had very exact intelligence, from his friend Francis Serrano, of the situation of these rich islands, and knowing also what an immense fortune he had got within the space of a few years, while he resided at Ternate, resolved to return to Portugal, in order to obtain, if possible, the reward which he thought due to his services; and, if that was refused him, to withdraw into Spain, and suggest to the emperor, Charles V. that he had a better right to the Moluccas than the crown of Portugal, according to the pope's bull for settling that point. His suit was rejected at Lisbon, with circumstances that gave a man of Magellan's spirit great distaste; he therefore applied himself with diligence to the execution of the latter part of his project, and succeeded in it, even against the will of the emperor, whose council went warmly into the proposal; in consequence of which Ferdinand Magellan sailed with a squadron for the discovery of a new route to the Moluccas, September

[k] See a more full account of this matter in the History of the Dutch Settlements in the Indies. [l] Argensola Conquista de las Islas Malucas, lib. i.

the

the 21ſt, 1519, from the port of St. Lucar in Spain. In that expedition, of which we ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak more at large hereafter, he did indeed diſcover by that ſtreight, which has ever ſince borne his name, a new paſſage to the Moluccas, through the South Seas. The court of Portugal was very well appriſed of his intention, and had ſent proper intelligence of it to the Indies, with inſtructions to the viceroy how to conduct himſelf upon that occaſion. But let us now return to the Spice Iſlands, and to that ſtrange turn of affairs which happened there.

A ſpecimen of that kind of behaviour by which the Portugueſe loſt the Indies.

Henry Garcias, who ſucceeded Antonio Brito, was at that time governor of the Moluccas; and he, finding all things extremely embarraſſed by the war which his predeceſſor had made againſt the king of Tydore with very little advantage, thought fit, on his firſt coming to his government, to make peace with Almanſor, who was then king of that iſland, on condition that he ſhould reſtore the artillery and priſoners taken from the Portugueſe, which, in the ſpace of ſix months, he undertook to do; but the face of affairs in thoſe parts altering ſoon after, Garcias repented his having made the peace, and reſolved to renew the war; believing, that if he could reduce this iſland, it would very much extend the Portugueſe power, and raiſe his reputation [m]. To furniſh himſelf, therefore, with ſome pretence for breaking with the king of Tydore, he, before the time limited in the treaty was expired, ſent to demand the cannon and priſoners. Almanſor modeſtly remonſtrated, that he would have delivered them up when the peace was made if it had been in his power; but that, having lent the cannon to a prince who was his neighbour, it required ſome time to get them back. He had ſo little ſuſpicion, however, of the governor's bad deſign, that being at this time very much indiſpoſed, he requeſted Garcias to ſend him a phyſician, whoſe advice he might uſe for his recovery [n]. The governor accordingly ſent him one, under whoſe direction the king having put himſelf without the leaſt reſerve, was by him moſt baſely poiſoned. Immediately after that monarch's death, Garcias ſent again to demand the cannon and priſoners; and becauſe the people deſired a delay till the king's funeral was performed, he made a deſcent upon the iſland, attacked the capital, took and plundered it, and treated the people with the utmoſt inhumanity.

[m] Maffæi Hiſt. Indica, part ii. lib. ix. cap. 4. [n] Argenſola Conquiſta de las Iſlas Malucas, lib. i.

The

The Spaniards obtain an easy entrance into those islands.

The viceroy of Goa being informed of this transaction, sent him a successor. As this villainous action was done without the least provocation, in time of peace, when there was not the smallest intention on the side of the natives to renew the war, it inspired the people of that island, and the rest of the Moluccas, with an implacable hatred to the Portuguese. The squadron of Charles V. arriving there, was welcomed by the people of Tydore with all the marks of kindness, on account of the enmity which subsisted between the Spaniards and Portuguese; and being received into their port, they raised works for the defence of it, in case of an attack from the enemy. The Spaniards who, after Magellan's death, were under the command of Ignigueza, alleged, that the Moluccas belonged of right to them, as being first discovered by Magellan, with a commission from the king of Spain; and that the dispute, having been submitted to arbitration, was determined in their favour. On the other hand, the Portuguese, under the command of Henriques Garcias, said, that the unjust sentence of the Castilian arbitration had been reversed by the judges in Portugal; and that those islands were discovered ten years before the voyage of Magellan, in the Spanish service, by Anthony Abreu, who was sent out to make discoveries by Alphonso Albuquerque, in whose company Magellan served in person before he had deserted the service of his country [o].

His Catholic majesty parts with his pretensions for a sum of money.

Thus they disputed with words for a while, but soon after came to blows, the people of Ternate taking part with the Portuguese, and those of Tydore and Gilolo with the Spaniards. The latter struck the first stroke by besieging the Portuguese fortress in Ternate, where, at the first attack, they took one of the enemy's ships; and now the Spaniards and Portuguese would in all probability have atoned for the mischiefs they had done to the Indians, by the destruction of each other, but that the emperor, being engaged in very expensive wars in Europe, neglected so remote an acquisition, and, for a certain sum of money, yielded up his right in the Moluccas to the king of Portugal [p]. This bargain was looked upon at that time as very indifferent policy, and as the effects of his not being properly informed as to the advantages that might have been derived to him in Europe, by the prudent management of his affairs in Asia. His thoughts were entirely bent on

[o] J. De Barros, Maffæus, Argensola.

[p] Herrera Histor. de las Indias Occidental. decad ii.

the

the vain project of raiſing an univerſal monarchy by force of arms; whereas the Portugueſe contented themſelves with puſhing their conqueſts in the Indies, and employed the riches they derived from thence to ſecure themſelves againſt their ambitious neighbours in Europe.

The hiſtory of theſe conqueſts unneceſſary.

The proſecution of the hiſtory of theſe iſlands while under the dominion, or rather tyranny of the Portugueſe, would oblige us to enter into a long detail of robberies, murders, and treaſons, on one hand; and of inſurrections, leagues, and obſtinate wars, on the other: for as their own writers acknowlege, the Portugueſe behaved towards theſe people in the moſt barbarous and perfidious manner, robbed them without remorſe, murdered them without mercy, ſwore to alliances they never meant to keep, poiſoned ſome kings, aſſaſſinated others, deluded and betrayed all. Let us then be as ſhort as we can; and endeavour, by a ſuccinct deſcription of theſe iſles, to ſhew their importance.

A ſuccinct view of the Moluccas.

Theſe valuable iſlands conſiſt, ſtrictly ſpeaking, of no more than five; from whence it is ſaid they received their name, in the original language of the inhabitants. They are not out of ſight of each other, and lie all of them within the compaſs of twenty-five leagues. They are famous for producing ſeveral ſorts of valuable ſpices, but eſpecially nutmegs and cloves, and are under the dominion of three kings. Their coaſts are rendered very dangerous by ſands and ſhelves. They were formerly ſubject to the Chineſe, fell next under the Javaneſe, were, in proceſs of time, ſubdued by the Malayans; and the Mohammedans had begun to ſettle in them, and convert the inhabitants to their religion, but a very little while before they were diſcovered by the Portugueſe [r]. Ternate is eight leagues in compaſs, the land high, the water good, little proviſions, and few cattle except goats. Their chief riches conſiſt in cloves; they have extraordinary parrots, which exceed in beauty thoſe of the Weſt Indies; and many birds of paradiſe [s]. They have alſo almonds and coarſe tobacco. During their wars with the Portugueſe they burnt all their clove-trees, retired to the mountains and deſerts, and forbad ſelling any thing to that nation on pain of death; a prohibition which reduced them to great extremity. Though they burnt the cloves out of deſpair,

[r] Argenſola Conquiſta de las Iſlas Malucas, lib. i. [s] Recueil des Voyages qui ont ſervi à l'Eſtabliſſement de la Compagnie des Indies Orientales, tom. iv. p. 245.

their ashes so enriched the soil, that it produced cloves in greater abundance than ever in a few years. The king of this island was the most powerful of all, and boasted of divine extraction, which the people firmly believed. He was sovereign over twenty-two islands that lay in the great Archipelago, between Mindanao on the north, those of Bima and Corea on the south, and the terra firma of Papaos, or New Guiney, on the East, and had his tribute in gold, amber, and birds of paradise, from those countries. He styled himself emperor of the Archipelago, in which were many colonies of Christians; but most were destroyed or apostatised, in consequence of the persecution above mentioned [t]. According to a particular account of the forces which every island could raise, the whole amounted to upwards of one hundred thousand, besides a multitude of slaves. Many of these islands had their particular kings, but all subject to the king of Ternate; and they served under him to revenge the death of king Aerio, who was treacherously murdered by the Portuguese (P). This

[t] P. Lafitau Histoire des Conquetes des Portuguais, vol. iv. p. 9.

(P) This soltân Aerio was one of the best friends the Portuguese ever had, for which they rewarded him strangely. Lopez de Mezquita, who was appointed governor of the Moluccas in 1570, seized and sent him prisoner to Goa, on pretence of his having connived at his son's ordering several Portuguese to be put to death for ravishing the daughter of one of his subjects, though in fact this order did not take effect; and the king would nevertheless have punished his son, if the Portuguese had not hindered him. When this innocent but unfortunate prince arrived at Malacca, he met with letters from the viceroy, desiring him to return to his kingdom, assuring him that he was very well satisfied with his conduct; that he would take an opportunity of punishing the governor, but in the mean time desired he would be reconciled to him. The king accordingly went back; Lopez de Mezquita pretended to make the utmost submissions to him; the king, on his side, forgave him very sincerely, Five days after, under pretence of being sick, he invited him to a conference in the fort, where after a gallant and glorious defence, he was most basely and barbarously murdered (1). It was upon this that his son, soltân Babu, formed a general confederacy with the princes of the neighbouring islands, for expelling or exterminating the Portuguese; which produced a war so bloody and destructive, that both parties were in a manner ruined by it.

(1) P. Lafitau Histoire des Conquetes des Portuguais, tom. iv. p 86, 87, 88.

great

great king's name was Cachil Babu, Aerio's third ſon. He allowed the Dutch to trade here; in 1599 entered into a ſtrict friendſhip with them, and they aſſiſted him to ſhake off the yoke of the Spaniards and Portugueſe [u].

Tydor is larger than Ternate; is alſo a particular kingdom, and produces the ſame fruits: it lies a little ſouth-eaſt from Ternate, near the line. The Spaniards aſſiſted the inhabitants againſt thoſe of Ternate at firſt; but engaged in a war with them at laſt, and treated them barbarouſly, till expelled by the league above mentioned. The Dutch attacked the Spaniards here, in 1607, and afterwards without ſucceſs; but at laſt became maſters of their fort, by the aſſiſtance of the king of Ternate, after an obſtinate defence, and were kindly received by the king of this iſland, who allowed them to ſettle factories in his country. The capital is of the ſame name, and has an harbour dry at low water, and defended by a chain of narrow rocks, over which the tide riſes from three to ſix feet. The town is very ſtrong by nature, and capable of being made impregnable [w]. *A ſhort deſcription of Tydor.*

Motir, Motil, or Timor, lies between Tydor and Machian. It was laid waſte during their inteſtine wars; but the Dutch built a fort at the north end of it, which encouraged the inhabitants to return from Gilolo; and, continuing firm to the Dutch, the Spaniards durſt not attack it [x]. Machian lies directly under the line, ſouth from Motir. The Dutch took it from the Spaniards, in 1609, and built three forts here. It is ſeven leagues in compaſs, and has ſeveral little towns; the inhabitants were then eſteemed about nine thouſand: it was anciently reckoned the fruitfulleſt of the Moluccas, and produced the beſt cloves; the inhabitants were alſo eſteemed more induſtrious than their neighbours. Bachian, the laſt of the proper Moluccas, lies ſouth from Machian, and was a diſtinct kingdom. The country is in a great meaſure wild and deſert; where cultivated, it abounds with ſagu, fruits, and many other ſorts of proviſions. It was formerly very potent, and produced the beſt cloves in the Moluccas; but was ruined by the idleneſs of the inhabitants. They had an alliance with the Portugueſe and Spaniards, who eſtabliſhed garriſons there; but were diſpoſſeſſed by *A view of the ſmaller iſlands.*

[u] Argenſola Conquiſta de las Iſlas Malucas, lib. iv. [w] Recueil des Voyages qui ont ſervi à l'Etabliſſement de la Compagnie des Indes Orientales, tom. vii. p. 339. [x] Memoire d'Apollonius Schot de Middlebourgh touchant les Iſles Moluques.

the Dutch, in 1610, who built other forts, and obtained a liberty to trade without paying cuſtoms. The iſle of Labova lies ſo near it, that they frequently go by the ſame name, though each had their particular king. The latter is very pleaſant, and abounds in cloves.

Some account of the profits accruing from them.

We muſt be obliged to ſpeak of theſe iſlands again in the next chapter, and ſtill particularly more when we enter into the hiſtory of the Dutch proceedings of the Indies. At preſent our deſign is, to repreſent the condition they were in at the time the Portugueſe loſt their dominion, which laſted very near a century; during which period they, by oppreſſions and wars, depopulated theſe countries ſo much, and drove the inhabitants to ſo many and ſuch ſtrange acts of deſpair, that they left them the very reverſe of what they found them; and the remains of the people ſo ſtrongly prejudiced againſt the Chriſtian faith, that they bound the Dutch by treaty, on their firſt coming among them, not to diſturb them in their religion. In times of peace, and when the Portugueſe were in full poſſeſſion of all theſe iſlands, they produced an annual profit, of nutmegs and cloves, of near half a million ſterling, which one would have thought might have gratified even the moſt boundleſs avarice. It is true, that after their poſſeſſion was interrupted by the Spaniards, this commerce began to decline; but it was almoſt always in their power to have revived and reſtored it, if they could have been content to have treated the poor people with any degree of mildneſs and indulgence[y].

Of the iſlands adjacent to the Moluccas, and of the continent of New Guiney.

We have before obſerved, that in the neighbourhood of theſe iſlands, there are many others, ſome larger, ſome ſmaller, but all of them larger than the Moluccas, which owe their renown not to their ſize, or to their fertility in other reſpects, but to their being the countries to which nature had made a kind of excluſive grant of the richeſt ſpices, which, whether more favourable or fatal to them, it appears from their conduct, the natives themſelves knew not how to determine. The iſland of Bouro was formerly ſubject to the king of Ternate: it is not very conſiderable, but while in the hands of the Portugueſe, more ſo than at preſent; yet the iſland they chiefly depended upon was that of Great Timor, ſo called becauſe it is much larger than the other of the ſame name; and was extremely fruitful, ſo that from thence they ſupplied

y P. Lafitau Hiſtoire des Conquetes des Portuguais, vol. iv. p. 9. Voyage de la Compagnie, tom. ix. p. 253.

moſt

moſt of the Moluccas with proviſions[z]. Weſt from thence lies the iſland of Solor, in which was a ſtrong fortreſs, wherein the Portugueſe garriſon held out a ſiege of two months againſt the Dutch fleet and army; and when they ſurrendered, marched out near one thouſand men[a]. There are beſides theſe many other iſlands, which commonly, ſince the Dutch conqueſts, are ſtyled the Moluccas, becauſe they lie near them, and are conſidered only as they ſerve to maintain the garriſons which are deſtined to protect them. Yet it has been reported, that, notwithſtanding the vaſt importance of theſe iſlands, there were countries at no great diſtance from them, which deſerved ſome degree of notice, as abounding in gold and precious ſtones, and not altogether deficient in ſpices. It is the more requiſite to ſpeak of theſe countries in this place, becauſe, though they were but half diſcovered by the Portugueſe; yet that diſcovery has not been ſo much as proſecuted, much leſs perfected, by the Dutch. On the contrary, we have been given to underſtand, that ſome miſtake has happened in this buſineſs; that theſe countries are poor, barren, miſerable places, and thoſe who inhabit them a race of brutal, ſtupid, and ſtarving people. This poſſibly may be ſo; however, as it has been otherwiſe reported, and as theſe countries lies upon the very line that divides the known from the unknown parts of the world, and may be as eaſily reached by the South Seas as by the way of the Cape of Good Hope, a few particulars from the hiſtories of the Portugueſe may not be either unpleaſant or unuſeful, more eſpecially if the ſpirit of diſcovery ſhould at any time hereafter animate the boſoms of our countrymen.

By what means the Portugueſe procured an intercourſe with the poeple of New Guinea.

While Antonio Galvano commanded at Ternate, there was a famous pirate who, with a ſquadron of paraos, did a great deal of miſchief on the coaſt of the land of Papoas, which is that country ſince called New Guinea, and, at laſt, began to threaten the ſubjects of Portugal in the Moluccas. To repreſs the violences committed by this rover, the governor fitted out ſome barks ſent him by the king of Tydor, and having manned them with a few Portugueſe, and the auxiliaries from the neighbouring iſlands, he ſent them, under the direction of Ferdinand Vinagrez, a prieſt, in queſt of this pirate, with whom they came up, and, after a ſmart engagement, in which he and his brother were both killed, deſtroyed ſome, and

[z] Hiſtoire de la Conquete des Iſles Moluques, tom. iii. p 333.
[a] Memoire touchant les Iſles Solor & Timor, par Apollonius Schott

dispersed the rest, of his squadron. After obtaining this victory, he was sent to the country of Papaos, where he was kindly received by several princes, and converted them and their subjects to the Christian faith; which was so great a satisfaction to the worthy governor, that he instituted a kind of seminary, in which he bred abundance of young men brought from all these countries, instructing them himself in the Christian religion, and in those sorts of literature that were at that time studied in Portugal, in all which Don Antonio was extremely well versed. By his wise and gentle government, his reputation spread, and attracted multitudes of Christians expelled by Mohammedan princes, throughout the whole extent of the Indies, to him in the Moluccas, where he was so entirely beloved by all the princes of those islands, that they joined in a representation to the king of Portugal, that Antonio Galvano might be continued in his government for life; but before this representation was well framed, the governor of the Indies sent George Castro as his successior [b].

The strange alteration of this country, according to the latest accounts.

It was the removal of this worthy man which hindered all the southern continent from being thoroughly known; for, by his wise government, he established a new face in that part of the world, of which the Portuguese never had any idea; and if he had remained there but a few years, would have done more towards the conversion of those nations, than ever could be effected by an army of missionaries: but what he was not permitted to atchieve by his actions, he has sketched forth in his writings; so that from them we learn this great southern continent was, in his time, well inhabited; and though these inhabitants might, in some parts of it, be absolute barbarians, yet in others they were as much civilized as their neighbours, and had not only the use of vessels, but some kind of naval force [c]. We are assured, that a great part of the people at least inhabiting these countries, were Caffres, or Negroes, which is also the meaning of the word Papuas, or Papoes, that is, people of a jet shining black, with thick curled woolly hair; but it is admitted there were other nations very different from these, as well in their manners as in their complexions, some, particularly, that were very fair, with large weak blue eyes, which had the sense of seeing but very imperfectly by day-light, but in

[b] Galvano's Discoveries.

[c] See the Voyages of Le Maire, Dampier, and Roggewein.

the

the night they were very quick ſighted and active, reſembling thoſe to whom the name of moon-eyed Indians hath been given in America. How either of theſe people came there, or whether they were the ancient inhabitants, is a point we want both leiſure and abilities to diſcuſs, and therefore we ſhall content ourſelves with ſaying, that the Chineſe veſſels often viſited the coaſts, more eſpecially before the arrival of the Portugueſe; and that the produce of theſe iſlands, in general, were equally acceptable in all parts of the Indies, more eſpecially at the two great marts of Malacca and Ormuz, and in the ports of China, that were then open to ſtrangers. We ſhall now ſpeak of the intercourſe of the Portugueſe with the inhabitants of that famous empire, to which, of all the European nations, they were the firſt that found a direct paſſage by ſea, from whence, as from their other diſcoveries, they derived very ſolid advantages, as well as very high reputation [d].

A Trade well ſettled in China, very unluckily, and almoſt irreparably loſt. Their Intercourſes and happy Eſtabliſhment in Japan; and a very conciſe Account of the Cauſes and Manner of their Expulſion. Fruitleſs and fatal Attempts to revive their Correſpondence with the Inhabitants of thoſe Iſlands.

The correſpondence with China opened by Don Lopez Suarez, with indifferent ſucceſs.

THE viceroy Lopez Suarez, ſucceſſor to the famous Don Alphonſo d'Albuquerque, was the firſt who thought of eſtabliſhing any commerce with China, and, in the year 1517, ſent, under Ferdinand Andrada, a ſquadron of eight ſhips, laden with merchandize, having on board Thomas Perera, who had the character of ambaſſador from Emanuel, king of Portugal. On their arrival at the mouth of the river Canton, the Portugueſe ſhips were ſtopped, and only two ſuffered to proceed up the river; on board of one was the ambaſſador, and the Portugueſe commodore Andrada, a man of ſtrict honour; ſo that he ſoon gained on the Chineſe, notwithſtanding their natural averſion to ſtrangers. By his civility and polite beheaviour, he drew them to trade, and then, by his exactneſs and probity, brought them to have a great confidence in him; but what had the greateſt effect, and might have eſtabliſhed the commerce of the Portugueſe, to the excluſion of all other nations, was his giving notice, a

[d] Wafer's Voyages.

little before his departure, that at such a time he meant to sail, and that if any had demands either upon him or any who belonged to him, they might apply and receive satisfaction. This was an instance of probity, new to the Chinese, but so agreeable, that they made him high professions of friendship, and assured him, that they would willingly trade with his nation, in hopes of meeting always with the like usage: but so fair a prospect did not long continue, and, even the first had also very near proved the last voyage of the Portuguese thither [e]. The captains of the ships that were left at the mouth of the river, landed, and fell into trade with the natives; but, presuming on their power in the Indies, treated the Chinese with equal insolence and iniquity. They brought on shore several pieces of cannon, and then took what goods they pleased, at what rates they thought fit, committing many other insolencies, ravishing women, and trading with pirates for such as they had taken prisoners, of whom they made slaves. The viceroy of the province quickly assembled a great naval force, with which he surrounded the Portuguese squadron; and would have infallibly taken every ship, if a storm had not risen, which scattered the Chinese fleet, and gave the Portuguese an opportunity of returning to Malacca, with more profit than honour. As for the ambassador, Thomas Perera, he, though perfectly innocent, proved the victim of this bad behaviour; for the Chinese court, being acquainted with what had passed, not only refused him audience, but sent him back to Canton in chains, where he was put into the common prison, with the vilest criminals, and there lived in misery for several years, till, worn out with hardships, he expired in such wretched circumstances, that he did not leave wherewith to bury with [f].

When this commerce was refused, the Portuguese first sent annual fleets, and at length obtained a settlement at Macao, which they still possess.

It was many years before the Chinese would admit the Portuguese to any trade with them; but, at last, they allowed them to send some ships to the island of Sanchan, where they were permitted to erect tents on shore, for a very small space of time, in which they disposed of their merchandize. At length, towards the close of the sixteenth century, a favourable opportunity offered, not only for restoring their commerce, but of procuring an establishment in China. A certain pirate, whose name was Tchang-si-lao, committed prodigious ravages upon the

[e] Maffæi Hist. Indica, part. i. lib. vi. cap. 5. [f] P. Lafitau Histoire des Conquetes des Portuguais, tom. ii. p. 310.

coasts,

coaſts, and, having at laſt acquired a great force, made himſelf maſter of the little iſland of Macao, and from thence not only blocked up the port of Canton, but alſo beſieged the city. The mandarins, in this diſtreſs, had recourſe to the Portugueſe, whoſe ſhips were then at the iſland of Sanchan. They readily offered them their aſſiſtance, and not only forced Tchang-ſi-lao to raiſe the ſiege, but purſued him to Macao, where he was killed. The viceroy having made a faithful report to the emperor of this extraordinary ſervice, that prince, out of pure gratitude publiſhed an edict [g], by which he granted the Portugueſe this iſland, with the power of making a ſettlement there; which they joyfully accepted. In this convenient place they built a good town, fortified after the European manner, and furniſhed with near two hundred pieces of cannon. One would imagine, that this ſtep muſt have excited the jealouſy of the Chineſe, juſtly eſteemed the moſt ſuſpicious people in the world; but they provided ſo effectually for their own ſecurity, that all the force of the Portugueſe is entirely at their devotion; becauſe they have not a day's proviſion, but what they receive from the Chineſe, and are ſo ſurrounded by their forces, that it is impoſſible for them to undertake any thing to the prejudice of their empire [h]. The poſſeſſion of this place has been, notwithſtanding, extremely beneficial to that nation; for from thence they carried on, for many years, a moſt beneficial commerce with Japan, by which Macao became one of the richeſt and moſt conſiderable places in the Indies. Many of the nobility of Portugal, who had enjoyed very high offices, choſe to ſettle there, where they lived in great ſplendor, and, at the ſame time, acquired vaſt eſtates by trade; ſo that the permiſſion of living at Macao was a reward for paſt ſervices [i].

In what manner Pinto firſt found an entrance into the iſlands of Japan.

There is not any paſſage relating to the ſubject of this chapter more curious, or more extraordinary, than what refers to the iſlands of Japan, which, about the ſame time, were viſited by two different companies of adventurers. And though, in the account we have received of both diſcoveries, very little notice is taken of dates, yet, from the compariſon of facts, it is pretty evident, that thoſe of whom we ſhall firſt ſpeak arrived in that country ſome

[g] Du Halde Deſcription de l'Empire de Chine, tom. i. p. 241. [h] Tour du Monde, par Gemelli Carreri, lib. iv. ch. 1. [i] Le Compte's Letters concerning China.

time

time in the month of May, A. D. 1542 [k]. Ferdinand Mendez Pinto tell us himself, that being in company with two of his countrymen, Diego Zimoto and Christopher Borello, at Macao, they endeavoured to get a passage by sea into some other parts of the Indies, and found it very difficult. At last a Chinese pirate offered his service, promising to carry them to the islands of Lequios, of which, it seems, the Portuguese had already some knowlege. They pass under different names, for some writers call them the islands of Liqueios, others the islands of Rinku. They lie between 26 and 30 deg. of north latitude; having the island of Formosa on the south-west, the continent of China on the west, the islands of Japan on the north, and the ocean on the east; on which side, they seem to have no land nearer to them than America. The Japanese report, that they are the most fertile countires in the world; and that the inhabitants are the easiest, happiest, and best-conditioned, of the human race. They are subject to the prince of Saxuma, who is one of the principal lords of the empire of Japan. The Chinese were formerly masters of them; and even, at present, there is still some commerce between them and the Philippines; but our adventurers being at sea, the weather proved so bad, and the ship so leaky, that there was an absolute necessity of putting into some port to refit. The captain bore away, therefore, for a certain harbour in the island of Japan, which was that of Niaigima in the island of Tanuximaa, where they safely arrived. This, undoubtedly, is what other authors call Tacuxima, belonging to the kingdom of Firando.

Their situation according to him. It lies in the latitude of 31 deg. north, at a very small distance from the great island of Ximo, which is the second in size of those three islands, known in Europe under the common name of Japan; which is not the name of a particular country, but of a large archipelago of islands, the most considerable of which is Niphon. Before they entered the port, two barks came from the shore, to know who they were, and what they wanted? The captain answered, that they were come from China; that his intention was to trade, if they might obtain permission. To which declaration the principal person answered, that the lord of the island was called Nautaquim; and that, if they paid the port-duties, they might have leave to trade. The Chinese captain complied; and the

[k] Voyages and Adventures of Ferdinand Mendez Pinto, chap. 43.

patron

patron of the barks, with great civility conducted him immediately into the harbour [1].

A ſuccinct account of his adventures in thoſe iſlands, and his manner of leaving them.

About two hourts after, the lord of the iſland came, accompanied by ſeveral perſons of diſtinction, and ſome merchants. At ſight of the three Portugueſe, he was aſtoniſhed, and demanded who thoſe ſtrangers were, and of what nation? The captain anſwered, that they came from a great city, called Malacca; and that they were of a certain kingdom in Europe, called Portugal. At theſe words, Nautaquim appeared ſtill more furpriſed; and, at laſt, turning to thoſe who were about him, he ſaid, "Let me die if I do not believe theſe are the Chinchigogis, of whom we read, in our old books, that they fly upon the waters, and make themſelves maſters of every rich country of which they hear. We ſhall think ourſelves very happy, if they are content to be our allies." He then made no difficulty of going aboard the Chineſe veſſel, with ſome of the people about him, and aſked the Portuguſe abundance of queſtions, whom he invited to viſit him on ſhore, promiſing to entertain them kindly. They went, and carried him a preſent, which was graciouſly received; and Nautaquim entered into a long converſation about their country; and, particularly, inſiſted on theſe three points, which, he ſaid, he had been told by the Chineſe and Lequians in his country: firſt, that Portugal was bigger than China, and richer; that the king of Portugal had conquered the beſt part of the world; and, that he had better than two thouſand houſes full of gold and ſilver. Pinto owns, that he did not ſtick exactly to truth in his anſwers, but contrived ſuch as were likely to keep up the high opinion that Nautaquim had conceived of their monarch. All the time they ſtaid, they were treated with the utmoſt civility, being permitted to ſee every thing they deſired, and go where they would. This great lord was the nephew and the ſon-in-law of the king of Bango, one of the greateſt monarchs in Japan, who, upon having an account of the arrival of theſe ſtrangers, was very deſirous of ſeeing them; and, at his requeſt, accordingly Nautaquim ſent Pinto to him. Some adventures which happened at his court, recommended the Portugueſe ſo ſtrongly to the king's favour, that he made him ſeveral conſiderable preſents, beſides a ſum of ready money to the amount of about a thouſand pounds; and not without difficulty permitted him to embark again on board the ſame ſhip

[1] Hiſtoire de Japon, par le P. Charlevoix, vol. i. p. 179.

which

which brought him, in which he went back to China, and from thence returned to the Indies [m].

Xavier esteemed the apostle of this numerous and potent nation.

We come now to the other adventurers, and their story will lie in a very narrow compass. In this year, 1542, Antonio Mota, Francisco Zeimoto, and Antonio Pexota, in a voyage from the island of Macassar to China, were thrown upon these islands, and exceedingly well received. Amongst others, they entered into a close acquaintance with one Angero, a man of a good family, and considerable fortune, but exceedingly troubled in mind on account of some irregularities committed in his youth; who heard them with pleasure discourse of the truths of the Christian religion. About two years after Alvarez Vaz, a Portuguese merchant, arrived in the same country, and became intimate with the same person, whom he persuaded to go to the Portuguese settlements, in order to be consoled by the holy discourses of the famous Francis Xavier. To which advice at length he yielded; and, having received baptism at Goa in the year 1548, he next year accompanied Father Xavier, and two other Jesuits, in their voyage to Japan, where they immediately entered upon their mission; by the progress of which this country was made thoroughly known to the Portuguese [n]. The conversion of multitudes to the Christian faith, through the whole of this great empire, contributed not a little to support the Portuguese trade, which was managed with much facility, and to a vast profit: for the Portuguese, being established in China, carried from thence vast quantities of silk into Japan, where, as all ranks of people affect to be clothed in it, there followed a prodigious consumption, which enriched the Portuguese merchants very soon to a high degree; though it is scarcely credible, that, as some Dutch writers report, they have sometimes carried home in one small ship a hundred tons of gold [o]; but this prodigious success proved the cause of their being at last deprived of this lucrative commerce.

By what means the Portuguese came first to lose their credit, and at length are expelled those islands.

The vast wealth they had acquired, corrupting the manners of the Portuguese, made them less cautious than they ought to have been in their behaviour towards the Japanese; insomuch that, instead of the moderation, sobriety,

[m] Voyages and Adventures of Ferdinand Mendez Pinto, chap. 44, 45, 46. [n] Histoire de Japon, par. le P. Charlevoix, vol. i. p. 186. [o] Recueil des Voyages qui ont servi à l'Etablissement de la Compagnie des Indes Orientales, tom. x. p. 102.

and

and exact conduct, which they at firſt purſued, they grew proud, inſolent, and diſſolute. This corruption prompted them to change the places where they uſed to trade, and to prefer the ports that were in the dominions of infidel princes to ſuch as were in the territories of thoſe Japaneſe lords that had embraced the Chriſtian religion, that they might live as they thought fit, without being under the control of the miſſionaries, who took all the pains they could to oblige their countrymen to advance the credit of the Chriſtian religion by the regularity of their lives [p]. Theſe errors had two very bad conſequences; firſt, they diſguſted ſuch princes as had embraced the faith; and, ſecondly, they hardened the infidels in their averſion to it. But it was not only the corruption of the Portugueſe merchants, officers, and ſeamen, that gave offence to the people of this empire; the intrigues of the miſſionaries themſelves contributed to it as much, or more, by exciting the jealouſy of the emperor; for wherever they had converted any of the princes of Japan, they were continually at court, and, inſtead of minding what was the proper buſineſs of the church, engaged perpetually in affairs of ſtate, making the direction of conſciences much leſs their care than the direction of councils; by which they became the authors of many troubles, and afforded a handle to their enemies of charging them with many more; ſo that the emperor of Japan began at laſt to ſurmiſe that there was more of hypocriſy than ſanctity in their hearts; and that they were endeavouring, under colour of ſaving men's ſouls, to eſtabliſh a new government in that country [q].

Careleſs, or unaccountably blind to ſeveral pregnant inſtances of the deſigns of the Japaneſe.

Theſe jealouſies were increaſed by two circumſtances; the firſt was, the haughtineſs and ill-conduct of ſuch as were ſent ambaſſadors thither, eſpecially after the union of the crowns of Spain and Portugal; for thoſe miniſters were wont to boaſt of the vaſt power of the catholic king, and of the mighty extent of his dominions, of which they affected to convince the Japaneſe by ſhewing the maps of the Eaſt and Weſt Indies. Such was the imprudence of one of theſe ambaſſadors, that being aſked, how his maſter had acquired ſuch vaſt territories at ſo great a diſtance from his hereditary dominions? he anſwered, by ſending miſſionaries firſt to convert a part of the inhabitants to Chriſtianity, and then ſending troops to aſſiſt the new converts

[p] Manley's Account of the Iſland of Japan, and of the Excluſion of the Portugueſe. [q] Hamilton's Account of the Eaſt Indies, vol. ii. p. 299.

in

in shaking off the yoke of infidel princes. The other circumstance was, the arrival of Dutch ships upon the coast of Japan; for these people, applying themselves entirely to commerce, and submitting to whatever terms were prescribed by the Japanese, gained such a degree of confidence with their princes, that it procured implicit credit for their representations, as to the ambitious designs of the Spaniards and Portuguese. These remarks will give the reader an easy key to the political contrivances for first restraining the Portuguese trade to a particular port, and then shutting them up as it were in a prison during their stay in that empire: but, notwithstanding these and many other previous signs which the Portuguese had of the approaching rupture with the Japanese, yet were they so far from taking prudent steps for avoiding this great mischief, that, on the contrary, they became daily worse and worse, till the storm came upon them with such a force as was not to be resisted [r].

Attempt made by the Portuguese at Macao to renew their correspondence with these islands.

This edict was issued in 1639; and not long after, two large ships, richly laden, from Macao, came to an anchor in the road of Nagazaqui; on which it was instantly notified to the commodore, that the emperor of Japan had totally prohibited all commerce with the Portuguese for these reasons: first, because, notwithstanding several cautions given them, they had continued to bring over missionaries into his country; secondly, that they had supplied those that were already there with provisions, and other necessaries; and, thirdly, that there were just reasons to suspect they had some knowlege of, and concern in, the late rebellion of the Christians in Arima. They had also a copy of the emperor's edict, which they were directed to make public at Macao; and to inform the inhabitants of that city, that these were the last ships that should ever be permitted to anchor in any port of Japan; and that, if ever they came thither again, they should be treated as enemies, and put to death without mercy. On their return, the whole place was struck with consternation, being convinced that the loss of this trade would prove the ruin of their city; to prevent which, they resolved to employ a solemn embassy to justify their conduct, and, if possible, to engage the emperor to recall this edict, or at least to qualify it, that they might on certain terms have leave to send some ships thither. The difficulty was, to find any who would charge themselves with so dangerous

[r] Varenius, Kæmpfer, Caron, &c.

a com-

a commiſſion; but at laſt the following perſons offered to run the hazard: Don Lewis Paez Pacheco, who had ſerved with honour as commander of the armies in the Indies, and who was now ſeventy-eight years of age, Don Roderic Sanchez de Paredez, Don Gonzalez Montayro de Carvailho, and Don Simon Vaz de Pavia, all men of diſtinction, moved by nothing but the deſire of juſtifying their countrymen, and rendering ſervice to their country [a].

The treatment of that embaſſy by the Japaneſe.

On the 9th of July, 1740, the ſhip that carried them arrived in the road of Nagazaqui: they ſent an account to the Japaneſe governors of the nature of their commiſſion. The ſhip was immediately ſeized; and the ambaſſadors, and all who belonged to them, except eight negro ſeamen, were impriſoned in the iſland of Kiſma, till the emperor's pleaſure ſhould be known. On the return of the courier, they were ſent for before the magiſtrates, who treated them as criminals, demanding what it was that could induce them, after ſo fair warning as was given them, to return in direct breach of the emperor's edict? They pleaded, that they were not all within the meaning of that law, becauſe the emperor forbad thereby any attempt to trade, which was not their buſineſs, having no commodities of any ſort on board their ſhip, but coming thither with the characters of ambaſſadors, which had been always, and by all nations, eſteemed ſacred. They were told, that this excuſe would not ſerve their turns; that they had incurred the penalty of the edict; upon which they were inſtantly bound, and conducted back to priſon.

Miſerable iſſue of that unfortunate negotiation.

Next day the ambaſſadors, and all their attendants, to the number of ſeventy-four Portugueſe, Spaniards, Chineſe, Canarins, and Indians, were carried before the magiſtrates, who then told them his imperial majeſty had commanded they ſhould all ſuffer death except thirteen; which ſentence was executed the ſame evening. Next morning before it was light, the governor ſent for the thirteen that were ſpared; and having aſked them if they had ſeen their ſhip burnt, enquiring of them, whether they would faithfully report at Macao what they were commanded by the emperor to ſay on his behalf? Being anſwered in the affirmative, they proceeded thus: "You are then to inform your fellow-citizens, that henceforth the ſubjects of Japan will not receive either money, merchandize, or preſents, from them. You ſee we have burnt the very cloaths of thoſe who were executed yeſterday.

[a] Hiſtoire de Japon, par le P. Charlevoix, tom ii. p. 413.

day. Let your people use any of our's, that fall into your hands, in the same manner; we consent to it; and desire that you will think of us no more than if there were not such a nation as the Japanese in the world [t]." They then conducted them to the place where the heads were fixed upon poles in three rows, the four ambassadors first, the Europeans next, and the strangers last. They likewise shewed them a great iron chest, in which were the bodies of the persons executed; and a long inscription, ending with these words: "All this is set forth as a memorial of what is past, and as an advertisement for the time to come. Henceforward, so long as the sun shall shine upon the earth, let not any Christian be so hardy as to set his foot in Japan; and be it known to all the world, that if king Philip in person, the God of the Christians, or the great Xaca, one of the first deities of Japan, shall presume to break this ordinance, he shall pay for it with his head." They then gave these poor people an old vessel to return in to Macao; which they chose, rather than to be put on board any of the five Dutch ships that were then on the coast, and offered to carry them to that port [u].

Upon the accession of the duke of Bragança to the crown of Portugal, new enterprizes undertaken.

When Don Juan, duke of Bragança, mounted the throne of Portugal, and assumed the title of John the Fourth, he, in the year 1646, thought fit to make another attempt in favour of the city of Macao, and sent Don Gonzalo Segueyra as his ambassador to the most puissant emperor of Japan, to inform him, that as Portugal no longer continued subject to the crown of Spain, he hoped that a good intelligence might now be restored between the citizens of Macao, and the subjects of his imperial majesty. The ambassador was very civilly received, and an express sent to court with the news of his arrival. In about a month, a courier returned with the emperor's answer, importing, that his request could not be granted; but that he, and all who belonged to him, had free liberty to depart [w].

Another promising opportunity engages them to make a new attempt without success.

In 1685 another favourable opportunity offered, which the Portuguese did not fail to embrace. A Japanese vessel, driven by a storm from their own coasts, was forced to take shelter in the port of Macao, where the people met with a very kind reception, having been entertained at the public expence, till they were recovered from the hardships they had endured at sea; they were put on board one

[t] Taken from the relation at large, preserved by the author last cited. [u] Recueil des Voyages au Nord, tom iii. p. 220.
[w] Histoire du Japan, par le P. Charlevoix, tom. ii. p. 441.

of

of the beſt veſſels belonging to the port of Macao, and ſent back to their own country. On their coming to an anchor in the road of Nangazaqui, and ſending the Japaneſe on ſhore, they received a meſſage from the magiſtrates, that they were obliged to them for this kind and generous behaviour; but that for the future they would adviſe them not to give themſelves the trouble of ſending home any more of their people, ſince it would not anſwer their ends [x]. We may from hence collect of how great conſequence this commerce was, and how very ſenſible the Portugueſe were of the ſad effects that muſt inevitably attend the loſs of it; and indeed their foreſight has been juſtified by the event, ſince their trade, their force, and their reputation in the Indies, have all been gradually declining ever ſince [y].

Preſent low and diſtreſſed State of the ſmall Remains of the Portugueſe Territories in the Indies; Remarks on the Cauſes of a Declenſion no leſs ſtrange than the ſudden Riſe and vaſt Extent of their Empire; Reaſons why their Situation, ſunk as it is, ought not to be conſidered as irretrievable.

A ſhort deſcription of the city of Goa.

WE have now conducted the hiſtory of the riſe and progreſs of the Portugueſe power in the Indies to its cloſe; and there remains nothing more than to give the reader a juſt and diſtinct idea of the poſſeſſions which the crown of Portugal ſtill retains in theſe parts. The iſland and city of Goa yet continues, as it always was, the capital of their dominions. The iſland of Goa is ſituated in latitude 15 deg. 40 min. north, and is about twenty-ſeven miles in compaſs. The river Mandova, which is almoſt as much reſpected by the Indians as the Ganges, divides it from the continent, and at the diſtance of about ſix miles, falls into the ſea. The rainy ſeaſon continues here from June till September or October; and the land-floods bring down ſuch quantities of mud and ſand, as ſtop up the haven, and impede the navigation. During this time the weather is very hot after ſun-riſe, when the rains ceaſe: yet before the rains begin, that is, in the months of April and May, the weather is ſtill more ſultry, but from October to March it is very moderate [z].

[x] Tour du Monde, par Gemelli Carreri, liv. iv. chap. 2. [y] Guyon Hiſtoire des Indes, tom. iii. p. 336. [z] Les Etats du Monde, p. 217.

The convenience, strength, and other advantages of the haven and quays, &c.

The port of Goa is represented as one of the best in the Indies, and for this character it stands in some measure obliged to nature; but to do them justice, the Portuguese have spared no pains to heighten and improve those advantages, as well as to fortify it with many castles and towers, furnished with abundance of very good cannon. Beyond these castles the channel grows narrower, sometimes to one, sometimes to two miles; and its banks, planted with the best fruits and finest trees India affords, yield the fairest prospect imaginable. Besides, there are beautiful country-houses, called quintas, and abundance of pleasant dwellings of the country people [a].

The situation and beautiful prospect over the country adjacent.

This delightful scene holds for eight miles, quite up to Goa. Half-way upon the right side is a palace, called Passo de Dangi, where formerly the viceroys resided, but at present it serves as a barrack for the garrison: there begins a strong broad wall, two miles in length, for a foot-path, when the country is overflowed; and a great deal of salt is gathered thereabouts. Opposite to this wall, or dyke, is a hill, on which the Jesuits have their house for novices [b]. The viceroy has his palace, called La Palvereira, on the same channel, and so has the archbishop: here begins the city, and so far ships can come up, after discharging some part of their lading. This channel, that makes so noble a port, runs many miles up the country, dividing it into several fruitful islands and peninsulas, which not only plentifully furnish the city with necessaries, but delight the palate with rich fruit; afford a curious prospect, and yield much profit to the gentry, to whom for the most part they belong. Adjoining to this port is the haven of Murmugon, formed by the other channel that runs between the island of Goa and peninsula of Salsete, and supplies a safe retreat to the ships that come from Portugal, and other parts, when they are shut out of the port by the sands the river Mandova brings down, when swollen by the first rains of June, the passage not being open till October. This port of Murmugon is defended by the castle of the same name, seated in the island of Salsete, in which there is a good garrison, and the fortifications are well supplied with cannon [c].

Of the former, and present state of this city.

At the south entrance into the channel, a little beyond the forts on the right hand, are seen the remains of Old Goa, and from thence to the new city there is a commo-

[a] Pietro della Valle Voyage aux Indes, tom. iii. p. 176. [b] Tavernier, Le Brun, &c. [c] Mandelslo, Tavernier, Dellon.

dious

dious road, elegantly adorned with trees for fruit and ſhade. What is ſtill ſtyled the new city, carries evident marks of decay; for, though the walls are kept in good repair, and are every-where well ſupplied with cannon, yet taking in, as they do, a compaſs of twelve miles, they ſerve to ſhew what the city once was, in compariſon of what it now is. In the time of its proſperity, there was nothing could be compared with it in the Indies, and very few cities in Europe were either larger or better built. The public ſtructures ſtill remain, and bear inconteſtable evidence of its former grandeur. The cathedral is very large, ſupported by twelve beautiful columns, and the archbiſhop's throne is very ſtately [d]. His palace is alſo very magnificent, though that prelate uſually reſides in the country: the viceroy's palace is alſo a noble building, and has many large and commodious apartments. The houſe of the holy office, or palace of the inquiſition, is ſpacious, and the apartments that belong to the inquiſitor-general very richly furniſhed. The power of that formidable eccleſiaſtic is very terrible, and extends to perſons of all ranks, the viceroy, the archbiſhop, and his vicar, who is always a biſhop, only excepted. There are churches and monaſteries enough for a much larger place. The Jeſuits alone had no leſs than five houſes, and it is ſaid that their revenues equalled thoſe of the crown of Portugal; but then it is to be remembered, all the wealth that was remaining lay in the hands of the church. Theſe houſes were formerly the beſt in India, and made a tolerable figure: the number of inhabitants is ſaid to be, in all, about twenty thouſand; of theſe the native Portugueſe amount to a very ſmall number; the Meſtizos are more numerous; the Canarins, or natives, are as black as jet, but have long black hair, and many of them fine features; multitudes of Negro ſlaves, and Pagans of different nations, make up the reſt of the people. It is generally agreed, that the men are for the moſt part proud, indolent, jealous, revengeful, and indigent; the women lazy, laſcivious, and as well ſkilled in poiſoning as any in the world.

The condition of the viceroy, and the nature of the government.

All that remains under the Portugueſe dominion, from the Cape of Good Hope in Africa to the city of Macao in China, is now governed by a viceroy, or captain-general, who reſides at Goa. There are ſix, and ſometimes eight, deſembargadores, or *judges*, that attend the governor,

[d] Gemelli Careri Tour du Monde, liv. iii. chap. vi. Lettres Edifiantes et Curieuſes, tom. xv. p. 48.

and compose a sovereign court or council[e]. The chief court that these gownsmen sit in is called Relacaon, in which justice is administered in civil and criminal cases; their power extending over all the officers of the crown; in which court also are tried appeals brought from all parts of their dominions. The viceroy, as chief of this court, sits under a canopy; the judges on benches placed on the floor. The council De Facada is a court of exchequer, where one of the gownsmen sits as the viceroy's deputy. Thus the pomp and splendor of this government is still kept up, though the extent of it is so much lessened, and the power and credit of it in a manner quite decayed[f]. There are still as many subordinate governments as ever, that is, in title, for otherwise they are of no great consequence, and yet those on whom they are bestowed have the rank and title of generals. There is, for instance, a general of the gulf of Ormuz, who has four ships under his command; a general of the North, who commands the small towns on the coast of Malabar; a general of Salsete, who has the inspection of a territory of about fifteen miles; a general of China, who is, properly speaking, governor of Macao, and is a mere vassal to the Chinese. There is another general in the islands of Timor and Solor, to whom, however, the Portuguese there scarce pay any obedience, and who lives in a miserable fort, the guns of which are in no condition for service. There is, besides all these, a general of Goa, who takes care of the channels between the islands, and restrains smugglers, unless they are under the protection of his superiors[g].

A concise deduction of the several steps by which the inhabitants have been corrupted.

But as it is a true observation, that men never grow superlatively wicked at once, so it must be allowed, that dissolution of manners, as well as declension in power, came on gradually here; for while Portugal remained annexed to Spain, viceroys and governors were sent over from very different motives, sometimes to remove them out of the way, sometimes through their interest at court, and sometimes as a reward for their condescension in points prejudicial to the interests of their native country. Such men, as might be well expected, behaved still worse abroad than they did at home, minding nothing but aggrandizing and enriching themselves by every method they could invent. The bad examples of the governors had a terrible effect on

[e] Hamilton's New Account of the East Indies, vol. i. p. 241. Voyage de Jean Baptiste Tavernier, partie ii. liv. i. chap. 13.
[f] Tour du Monde, par Gimelli Careri, liv. iii. chap. 6. [g] Baldæus, Tavernier, Gemelli Careri.

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the ſubordinate officers; ſo that pride, vanity, luxury, and a pompous diſplay of wealth, attained by the baſeſt means, took place of that virtue and public ſpirit which enabled their anceſtors to lay the foundation of ſo large an empire, with a very inconſiderable part of the power which was in the poſſeſſion of thoſe who loſt it. Their clergy followed the example of the laity; and inſtead of promoting, as at the beginning, the converſion of the natives to the Chriſtian faith, from the religious view of ſaving their ſouls, proſecuted that work from the meaner motive of making them ſubſervient to their purpoſes, and enabling them to acquire vaſt riches. This corruption proceeded ſo far by degrees, that not only many of the Jeſuits at Goa engaged in trade, contrary to the rules of their order, and their duty as miſſionaries, but deſcended ſo low as to diſguiſe themſelves in the habits of Faquirs, or Mohammedan monks, that they might have an opportunity of viſiting the diamond mines, and purchaſing ſtones there of extraordinary value, in which they have been detected, and openly puniſhed [h].

The keeping a multitude of idle and diſſolute ſlaves the main inſtrument of their ruin.

But what contributed to corrupt the inhabitants of the Portugueſe ſettlements was, the little care taken to prevent their leaving all things to the direction of their negro ſlaves, and their intermarrying with the people of the country; practices which have been, and ever will be, fatal to all eſtabliſhments, becauſe they not only emaſculate the minds of all ſuch as fall into this way of living, but alſo makes them loſe all regard for their country, and inclines them to take ſuch dirty meaſures as are moſt likely to preſerve them in the enjoyment of ſuch ſervile pleaſures. The Portugueſe at Goa have been for more than a century paſt ſo much addicted to this ſenſual kind of life, that, provided they might enjoy their fine houſes in the city, and their country palaces in its neighbourhood, they gave themſelves no pain about what happened elſewhere, or how great progreſs the Dutch made in ſubduing their diſtant ſettlements. The natural conſequence of this neglect was, that when ſuch ſettlements were loſt, thoſe who were driven from their habitations, inſtead of repairing to Goa, and taking arms in the king's ſervice for the recovery of theſe dominions, went into the territories of ſome Indian prince, and there, for a pitiful ſubſiſtence, entered into his pay, or accepted of ſome low office in his court; ſo

[h] Baldæus Deſcription of the Coaſts of Malabar and Coromandel, chap. 14.

that while the fleets and armies of Portugal grew contemptible for want of foldiers and feamen, there were thoufands of that nation fcattered all over the Indies, difgracing their country as mercenaries, when, by a proper behaviour, they might have reftored the affairs of their prince, as well as their own fortunes.

What territories depend on the viceroy of Goa.

The territories that immediately depend on the viceroy of Goa, are, firft, the ifland on which that city ftands, and in which there are about thirty villages; the peninfula of Salfete, which is about fixty miles in compafs; there are reckoned in it no lefs than fifty villages, and as many thoufand inhabitants. The peninfula of Bardes is about forty-five miles round, and it is computed that there are twenty-eight villages in it: the Anchedives are a cluſter of five iſlands, at ſome diſtance, of no great extent, and not fo well peopled. All thefe places are not of much conſequence, farther than they fupply the city of Goa plentifully with proviſions, which ſome penetrating people think is no great advantage; for, vaſt quantities of rice coming to market, and ſlaves being contented with a diſh of this food at noon, and another at night, every houſekeeper is encouraged to entertain a number of unneceſſary attendants, ſcarce any having fewer than ſix, and ſome thirty or forty [i]. If theſe poor creatures, who are chiefly Negroes, were employed in any uſeful labour, it were well enough; but carrying a palanquin, or ſupporting their maſter's umbrella, is the chief of their ſervices; and thus poverty and pride accompany each other, and this is to ſuch a degree, that the women at Goa are carried in ſtate a begging; and while the palanquin, with his miſtreſs, reſts at the door, a black boy enters with the lady's compliments, more eſpecially to ſtrangers, containing a ſuccinct account of her diſtreſſes, and an intimation that ſome relief would not be diſagreeable [k]. But let us now paſs over to the continent, and juſt mention the towns and fortreſſes that are under the direction of the general of the North.

Of Chaoul, Daman, and the reſt of the fortreſſes and ports.

The firſt of theſe is Chaoul, ſeated in a plain, at the diſtance of ſix miles from the coaſt. It ſtands upon a beautiful river, which, at high water, is deep enough to bring ſhips of conſiderable burden to the city walls. It is covered towards the ſea by a large mountain; on the

[i] Baldæus's Deſcription of the Coaſts of Malabar and Coromandel, chap. 14. Tour du Monde par Gemelli Careri. liv. iii. chap. 6.
[k] Voyage de Jean Baptiſte Tavernier, ſeconde partie, liv. i. chap. 13.

top

top of it there is a ſtrong fortreſs that commands the town, and protects the port, which is a little difficult at the entrance, but, within, one of the ſafeſt and moſt commodious in the Indies. The walls of the town are in tolerable good repair, and well ſupplied with cannon. We have before mentioned Daman, which lies at ſome diſtance from Chaoul, on a river of the ſame name. There was formerly another city of the like denomination on the other ſide of the river, but nearer the ſea, which is now fallen to decay, conſiſting only of huts and mud-walled houſes, inhabited by Moors and Gentiles. As for the city of New Daman, it is beautiful and well fortified; there are in it a great number of monaſteries and churches, but the want of a good port is a great diſadvantage to it [l]. However, as the climate is temperate, and ſome ſpirit ſtill left in the people, which encourages them to carry on an inland trade, it is very probable the Portugueſe may keep this city as long as they retain any footing in the Indies [m]. Bacaim, Baſſaim, or Bazaim, ſituated in the latitude of 19 deg. north, was yielded to the viceroy Nunes d'Acuna, ſo early as 1535, and was a place of great conſideration; but as it was taken by the Indian princes ſome years ago, and there is ſome uncertainty whether it be yet recovered, it is not neceſſary that we ſhould detain the reader with any particular deſcription of it, and for this reaſon it was not mentioned before [n].

A farther account of the port and fortreſs of Diu.

The port of Diu is very good, and capable of admitting large ſhips; for which reaſon, while the Portugueſe had any fleets of conſequence, they were commonly laid up there in the winter ſeaſon; and while their power continued, the Moors, and other traders in thoſe ſeas, were obliged to take out paſſports here, before they ſailed to the Eaſt. It was to favour the trade of this city that the Portugueſe deſtroyed Surat; and in return, ſince that city has been rebuilt, and protected by the Mogul, it has, in conjunction with Cambaya, drawn away much of the trade of Diu [o]. As this place, however, is very ſtrong, and the fortreſs capable of a long defence, it bids fair for remaining ſome time longer to the crown of Portugal. Under its preſent maſters it continues to ſubſiſt by what its inhabitants acquired in better times; but is viſibly

[l] Guyon Hiſtoire des Indes Orientales, vol. ii. p. 67. Dictionaire de Commerce, vol. ii. col. 778. [m] Tavernier, Guyon, Bouchet. [n] Les Etats, Empires, et Principautez, du Monde, p. 212. [o] Baldæus's Deſcription of the Coaſts of Malabar and Coromandel, chap. 19.

declining, and, like the rest of their places, sinking slowly under its own weight (Q).

State of the Portuguese trade.

At Bisnegar, and some other places in the Indies, they have factories, and a small proportion of trade. Thirty or forty years ago there was hardly any city or country that had any tolerable degree of commerce, in which there were not found some of the descendents of these ancient conquerors of the Indies; but it is otherwise now, or at least they are become much thinner than they were [p]. In the Islands of Timor and Solor, which are very remote, and depended heretofore upon the government of the Moluccas, they have still some settlements in participation with the Dutch; and once in two or three years a ship is sent from Goa to load with the product of those places, which is sandal-wood, a commodity much esteemed in China, wax in great quantities, and solar stones, which are of the nature, and held not at all inferior, either in virtue or value, to the best bezoar [q]. Besides these, they have nothing except the little city and island of Macao in China.

Number of inhabitants, employments, wealth, and trade of the people of Macao.

Of the Portuguese, their descendents, and their slaves, there are in this place about four thousand, and about fifteen or eighteen thousand Chinese. The former, with respect both to their civil and military government, are under the governor of Macao, appointed by the crown of Portugal, who, in his own fortress, is styled his excellency the general of China. He is paid by the citizens, who allow him a crown a day for subsistence, and three thousand crowns at his departure. The Chinese are under a mandarin, without whose consent the Portuguese governor can do nothing. All people here live by trade, and nobody pretends to be born above getting his bread; it cannot indeed be otherwise, for they have not as much ground as would serve to sow a handful of peas; the only distinction is this, the common people labour, go to sea, or keep shops; the better sort merchandize, let out money, or insure. Some trade they carry on with the European

[p] Voyage de Jean Baptiste Tavernier, seconde partie, lib. i. chap. 14. Dictionaire de Commerce, tom. ii. col. 781. [q] Hamilton's New Account of the East Indies, vol. ii. p. 138. Dictionaire de Commerce, tom. ii. col. 415.

(Q) After Goa, this has been always esteemed the strongest place in the hands of the Portuguese, and is famous in history for two sieges that do the highest honour to the Portuguese nation.

ships

ſhips when they are in the river of Canton, ſome more eſpecially, in their abſence, with the Chineſe; but what turns to the beſt account is a kind of contraband commerce with the Philippine Iſlands, and, as ſome ſay, alſo with the inhabitants of Hainan, a great iſland on the coaſt of China, prodigiouſly rich in gold [r]. Yet, what between the Chineſe port-duties, levied by a hoppo, or *collector of the cuſtoms*, and the impoſition of ten per cent. upon all merchandize in Portugueſe bottoms, for the ſupport of the government eccleſiaſtic and civil, there are hardly any can boaſt of being rich; and if they can but live tolerably, and that too in a place where every thing is cheap, they are, generally ſpeaking, content [s].

Of the declenſion of the coinage.

In order to form a complete notion of the ſtate of the Portugueſe affairs in the Eaſt Indies, it is neceſſary to recollect what has been already ſaid of the places which they ſtill retain upon the Coaſt of Africa, particularly Moſambique and Sofala. The gold obtained from thence is ſent to Goa and to Diu, where it is coined into ſmall pieces, called St. Thomas's, not worth more than half a crown of our money; and it is obſerved, that this coin is of a baſer allay than any other in the Indies. The ſarafins, formerly coined at Ormuz, when in the Portugueſe hands, were eſteemed the beſt gold in the Indies, but they are now become extremely ſcarce; and the St. Thomas's are ſaid to be coined in leſs quantities every year [t]. Upon the whole, theſe poſſeſſions are ſaid to produce ſo little to the king of Portugal, that it has been more than once debated, whether it would not be for the intereſt of the crown to abandon them altogether, withdrawing their artillery and effects; and we are likewiſe told, that it is not any political, but purely a religious motive that has hindered this meaſure from taking place, the prieſts having ſuggeſted, that, in that caſe, a multitude of ſouls would be loſt to the church.

The manner in which the remaining commerce of Goa is carried on.

Such as are beſt acquainted with the Eaſt India trade aſſure us, that a ſingle merchant might well carry on as great a commerce as ſubſiſts between Liſbon and Goa; but this aſſertion requires ſome explanation. There are ſtill a great many ſhips employed from Goa, Diu, and Daman, to the coaſts of Perſia, Pegu, Manilla, and China; but they are moſtly on the account of Indian mer-

[r] Gemelli, Careri, Tavernier, Hamilton, &c. [s] Dictionaire de Commerce, tom. ii. col. 845, 846. [t] Voyage de Jean Baptiſte Tavernier, ſeconde partie, p. 634.

chants,

chants, there being scarcely a Portuguese trader at Goa able to furnish a cargo of the value of ten thousand crowns[v]; and it is very much doubted whether, in the whole of their trade, they employ above two hundred thousand crowns; so that it is not at all strange, that, one year with another, there are not above two ships sent directly from Goa to Lisbon, and those not a fourth part so rich as when they annually sent twenty[w]: yet a late regulation made at Goa for the preservation and promoting of trade, is that which those, who understand this subject best, agree has gone near to complete its ruin. This is the establishment of an exclusive company, with the sole right to carry on the commerce of Mosambique and Macao; which company has taken upon itself the payment of the royal officers, who are also two-thirds concerned therein; by which such a blow has been given to the natural commerce of Goa, that the best part of the Indian merchants have now retired from thence. To say the truth, it was the great share the viceroys, governors, and other officers, always took in commerce, without contributing any thing thereto, except protecting the merchants from the violence committed by themselves on such as did not admit them to a share in their trade, that first injured the extensive commerce they enjoyed. But though their power and commerce are so much declined, their pride is as great as ever; insomuch that, as we have before observed, they refuse the natives of the country, who are called the Canarins, the privilege of wearing stockings, though they would willingly pay a large consideration for that indulgence; notwithstanding they employ them as physicians, lawyers, and merchants, by which means many of them are so rich, that they keep a dozen or fourteen slaves, and are in much better circumstances than the Portuguese themselves[x]. But the revenues of the church have suffered but a small diminution by this change in the state, insomuch that there is hardly a monastery which does not receive four or five thousand crowns out of the treasury; at the same time the soldiers starve and mutiny for want of pay. It is not easy to know what becomes of the money these churchmen raise[y]; but it is evident, that the wealth they possess, together with the establishment of the inquisition at Goa, is such a dead weight on the settle-

[v] Dictionaire de Commerce, tom. ii. col. 781. [w] Guyon Histoire des Indes, tom. iii. p. 39, 40. [x] Voyage de Jean Baptiste Tavernier, seconde partie, chap. 13, 14. [y] Hamilton's Account of the East Indies, vol. i. p. 251.

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ment, as muſt ſooner or later deſtroy it, unleſs ſome ſpeedy and effectual remedy be applied [z].

After all, the ſtate of the Portugueſe affairs in Aſia is capable of being conſidered in another and better light; ſince, however depreſſed their power may be, and how much ſoever the people may be degenerated from what they were, yet they have at this hour ſuch eſtabliſhments as would, if they were well managed, put them upon a better footing than any other European nation intereſted in that part of the world, the Dutch only excepted. They have but few places left, it is true, and theſe ſcattered at a great diſtance one from another; but thoſe places are excellently ſituated for trade, and, by proper management, might be rendered highly beneficial to the crown of Portugal [a]. If Diu and Macao were made free ports, and the power of the inquiſition reſtrained in reſpect to ſuch European ſtrangers as ſhould be inclined to ſettle in the Portugueſe dominions, it would infallibly give a new turn to things; for intereſt in that part of the world eſpecially, is a ſufficient invitation. All the trade in the Indies, carried on by the other European nations, is managed by excluſive companies; and, whether this be or be not expedient for the nations to whom thoſe companies belong, this is very certain, that individuals are far from finding their account in it; and if places ſo convenient, and ſo well ſituated, were open to them, and they had a free liberty of trading under the protection of the crown of Portugal, it would very ſoon appear that this protection, though it coſt nothing, would produce much; and that flag, which is at preſent ſo little eſteemed, would, in a ſmall ſpace of time, be the moſt reſpected of any in the Indies.

[z] Du Bois Geograph. Moderne, p. 640.

[a] Voyage de Jean Baptiſte Tavernier, tom. iii. p. 131.

SECT.

SECT. IV.

The History of the Discoveries, Settlements, Conquests, Disputes, and Commerce of the Spaniards in the East Indies, from their first Expeditions into those Parts down to the present Times.

An Account of the Motives to the Search of a new Passage to the East Indies by Sea, of the Disappointments that attended it, and of the celebrated Expedition of Ferdinand Magellan, by which that long-sought Passage was at length discovered.

The rise of the Spanish naval power under Ferdinand and Isabella.

THE reputation which the Portuguese acquired by settling the Canaries, discovering the islands of Madeira, Azores, and the coast of Africa, soon raised the jealousy, or at least the emulation of their neighbours, and more especially the Castilians, naturally as high-spirited a nation as any in the world. They were at this time governed by king Ferdinand and queen Isabella, who, by their marriage, united the kingdoms of Spain which descended to each of them by hereditary right. In consequence of that superiority of power which was the natural result of this union, they attacked the kingdom of Grenada, the only region of which the Moors then remained possessed, and, after a bloody war, and a siege of the capital, added that fruitful territory to the rest of their dominions, by right of conquest. While their catholic majesties were employed in the siege of this city, the queen thought fit to accept the propositions made by Christopher Columbus, a Genoese, for discovering certain rich countries, by sailing west from the coast of Spain, and, after taking possession of Granada, furnished him with the means of putting this design in execution; in consequence of which he embarked on Friday, August the 3d, 1492, the contract with him having been signed the 17th of April preceding[b].

Upon the return of this great man from his happy discovery, Ferdinand and Isabella thought fit to apply themselves, according to the custom and policy of those times,

[b] Istria di Fernando Colombo nelle quali Phao porticolare, e vera Relatione della Vita e de fatti dell' Ammiraglio D. Christoforo Colombo suo padre, e dello scuoprimento ch'egli fece delle Indie Occidentali dette Mundo nuovo, tradotte dal Spagnuolo in Ital. da Alfonso Ulloa. Venit. 1511, 8vo.

to the court of Rome, in order to have their title to these new found countries, and such others as might be found, confirmed and secured [c]. Upon this application, Alexander the Sixth, who then possessed the papacy, consented to bestow on their catholic majesties the sovereign dominion of the Indies, with supreme jurisdiction over all that hemisphere; and accordingly, with the consent and approbation of the whole sacred college, the bull was passed in the usual form on the 2d of May 1493, with all the same formalities, prerogatives, and powers, that had been before granted to the kings of Portugal in relation to the East Indies, Guinea, and part of Africa: and by another bull, of the 3d of May of the same year, he granted them all the islands and continents already discovered, or that should be discovered, drawing a line from pole to pole at the distance of an hundred leagues to the westward of the islands of Azores and those of Cape Verde; and that all that should be discovered beyond that line to the west or south, should appertain to the navigation and discovery of the kings of Castile and Leon, provided it were not in the possession of any Christian prince before Christmas-day; and that no person should pass over into those parts under penalties and censures. These bulls, which were intended to put an end to all disputes between the two crowns, were so far from having that effect, that they heightened the animosities between them; the king of Portugal representing to their catholic majesties, and to the court of Rome, that he was extremely wronged by this partition, insisting at first, that the new discovered counties belonged to him, and threatening to send a fleet to support his claim [d].

Pope Alexander VI. confirms their title to the discoveries made by Columbus.

By degrees, however, things were brought to a better temper by a negotiation; and at length it was agreed, that, to prevent disputes, which could not fail of being detrimental to both, commissioners should be appointed by the two crowns, in order to discuss this matter amicably, and settle it to their mutual satisfaction. Accordingly such commissioners were appointed by both parties, with full powers to adjust this difference, either by settling boundaries north and south, or from east to west, or such other limits either by sea or land as they should think fit. After many conferences, and upon hearing of several cosmographers, who were admitted into their assemblies,

The disputes between the crowns of Castile and Portugal adjusted by treaty.

[c] Herrera Histor. de las Indias Occidental. Decad. i. lib. ii. cap. 4. [d] Histoire generale de Portugal, par M. de la Clede, tom. iv p. 56, 57.

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on the 7th of June, 1493, they agreed, that the line for settling the boundaries should be drawn two hundred and seventy leagues farther than that mentioned in the pope's bull, from the islands of Cabo Verde westward; and that all beyond that meridian, westward, should belong to the kings of Castile and Leon, and all to the eastward should appertain to the navigation, conquest, and discovery, of the kings of Portugal; but that their catholic majesties might freely sail through those seas belonging to the king of Portugal, they holding on their direct course. Likewise, that whatsoever should be discovered before the 20th day of the said month of June, within the first two hundred and fifty leagues of the said three hundred and seventy, should remain to the kings of Portugal; and whatsoever should be discovered within the other one hundred and twenty leagues should appertain to the kings of Castile for ever [e].

Upon which the Portuguese prosecute their discoveries in the East with great vigour.

These conditions being drawn up before Hernan de Alvarez de Toledo, secretary to their catholic majesties, and Stephen Baer, secretary to the king of Portugal, their their said catholic majesties signed them at Arevalo, on the 2d of July, and the king of Portugal at Ebora on the 27th of February the next year. The Portuguese, who at this time had discovered very little beyond the island of San Tome, or St. Thomas, under the equinoctial, that they might not be behind-hand with their neighbours, exerted themselves so vigorously, that they soon after passed that cape now called de Buena Esperança, or Cape of Good Hope, and so entered into the possession of their Indies [f].

On the discovery of the Moluccas, Ferdinand Magellan revives the dispute.

Under this agreement things rested quietly enough for many years, till Ferdinand de Magalhaens, or, as we usually call him, Magellan, who had some share in the discovery of the Moluccas for the crown of Portugal, began to surmise, that possibly they were not within the terms stipulated, and that therefore they might be claimed by the crown of Spain upon the foot of that agreement. Of this suggestion he resolved to avail himself, in case he did not succeed in the pretensions (grounded upon his past services) which he had on the court of Lisbon; and, that he might be in the better condition to take whatever steps he thought necessary, he procured and obtained very ample memoirs from his friend Francis Serrano, who was the principal person concerned in that discovery. Upon

[e] Herrera, Dec. i. lib. ii. cap. 10. [f] J. de Barros, Castenada, Maffæus.

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his return to Lisbon from the Indies, he set forth his services by a memorial, and desired a small augmentation of his pay. What he asked was so very trivial, that it seems strange to some writers the court of Portugal should so peremptorily refuse his demand; more especially when he threatened to renounce the service, to abjure his country (which it seems was legal in those times), and seek employment elsewhere. But, in reality, it was not the gratification, to which the Portuguese ministers were so averse, as the thoughts of making such a precedent, the consequences of which they foresaw. Upon this repulse, he determined to put his other scheme in execution; and accordingly went away into Castile, carrying with him a planisphere drawn by Peter Rynel, by which, and the correspondence he had held with Serrano, he persuaded the emperor Charles V. that the Molucca islands belonged to him; and confirmed his opinion from testimonies, and the authority of Ruy Faleyro, a Portuguese astronomer, and much more from that of Serrano.

The Spaniards, strongly bent to maintain their pretensions, accept the proposals of Magellan.

When this design was known in Portugal, several methods were proposed for preventing the execution of this scheme; great offers were made to Magellan, and his companion Faleyro, to induce them to return, but without effect: some mention was made of assassinating them; but this was either not attempted or did not succeed [g]. There were, however, no pains spared to represent publicly at court, that the sending this man was a breach of treaties; and privately, that the thing would turn to no account, for that Magellan was a vain bragging fellow, of little courage, and a shallow capacity. It is said the emperor was not much inclined to this adventure; but the Spanish council, who understood such affairs better, were of a different opinion. They thought the design practicable, and had a great opinion of him who proposed it; in which they were certainly right, for no man ever conducted an enterprize of that importance better. On the 10th of August, 1510, Magellan sailed from Seville with a squadron of five vessels, two of which were of the burden of one hundred and thirty tons, two of ninety, and the least of sixty, having on board, in all, two hundred and thirty-four men, of whom about a fourth part were Portuguese. The points he had undertaken were two: first, to

[g] Argensola Conquesta de las Islas Malucas, lib. i. Histoire generale de Portugal, par M. de la Clede, tom. iv. p. 307, 308. Emanuel de Faria y Sousa Epitome de las Historias Portuguesas, lib. iv. cap. 10. Herrera, Decad. ii. lib. ii. cap. 3.

find

find certain islands within the limits assigned to Spain, from whence spices might be brought; and, secondly, to find a passage to and from those islands, without violating the rights of the Portuguese; which, if he did, his imperial majesty stipulated, that he and Ruy Faleyro (who, falling mad, did not go the voyage) should have an exclusive trade thither for ten years, enjoy the title of adelantado, and a twentieth part of the profits for ever.

A succinct account of Magellan's voyage, discoveries, and death.

The squadron making some stay at the Canaries, a caravel overtook them with dispatches for Magellan, by which he was informed, that John de Carthagena, and several other officers, had declared before their departure, that they meant not to obey him, of which intimation, at that time he took no notice. It was not long before he was convinced that these officers were in that disposition, for they began to question him about the course he steered. He told them that was his affair: that they had nothing to do but to follow his flag by day, and his lights in the night, and he would answer for the rest. When they had advanced into the south latitude of thirty-five degrees, they complained of the cold, and other hardships. Magellan answered, "that it was indeed cold; but that Norway and Iceland lay in higher latitudes, where the weather consequently was colder; and yet those seas were navigated, and found very tolerable." He wintered in port St. Julian's, where the mutiny broke out; which he quelled by his wonderful presence of mind, and by a discipline necessarily severe [h]. He continued his voyage from thence into and quite through the streights which have since bore his name. As soon as he was in the South Seas, he held a council, in which he declared, that there was now no farther doubt of there being a passage this way to the Moluccas. Stephen Gomez, the ablest pilot in the fleet, confirmed what he had said; but gave his opinion, that it would be better for them to return, because they had still a wide ocean to pass. Magellan answered roundly, "that he meant to prosecute the voyage, if he eat the hides that were nailed round the bottom of the mast: that they should be exposed to as little hardship going forward as backward; and that if any presumed to speak of the length of the voyage, or the quantity of the provisions, he would cause them immediately to be put to death." However, Gomez soon after found means to carry back the ship of

[h] Ramusio, vol. i. fol. 352. Herrera, Decad. ii. lib ii. cap. 3. Argensola Conquista de las Islas Malucas, lib. i.

which

which he was pilot. Magellan, having still with him three ships out of five that were under his command, pursued his voyage, though himself and his people were exposed to great difficulties, till he arrived at length at the island of Zebu, one of the Philippines, as they were afterwards called, and not far from the Moluccas [i]. He was well received by the king, who, by his persuasion, was baptized, and promised obedience to the crown of Spain. The Spaniards were well entertained here, and recovered surprisingly; but Magellan, engaging rashly in an action against two Indian princes, on behalf of the Christian king his friend, on the 27th of April, 1521, was unfortunately slain [k]. Other writers affirm that the Christian king betrayed and murdered him; but however that matter might be, one of his ships, called the Victory, under the command of Sebastian Cano, returned safe to Spain, being the first vessel, at least so far as history informs us, that ever sailed round the globe [l].

The emperor Charles V. for a small sum of money, desists from his pretensions.

We should not have dwelt so long upon the motives to this expedition, and the disputes which occasioned it, if it had not been to explain in what manner the Spaniards, notwithstanding the pope's bull, found a passage into the East Indies, which is certainly a very material point to our purpose, and therefore we shall pursue it so far as to shew how it ended with regard to the Moluccas, as these were the original cause of the quarrel. John II. who was at that time king of Portugal, knowing perfectly well the value of those islands of which he was in possession, and being very unwilling to have a war entailed upon him in that part of the world, with the only nation in Europe of whose naval force he had reason to be apprehensive, caused privately some hints to be given to the emperor, that upon a treaty of accommodation he might possibly acquire a considerable sum of money [m]. This expedient was fallen upon, after two treaties that had been set on foot for an amicable discussion of their titles, which, to say the truth, was no easy matter, since the Spaniards affirmed, that the Portuguese had forged charts, and the Portuguese on their side disputed the astronomical observations made by Magellan in his voyage; so that the commissioners appointed in 1525, and in 1526, separated, without coming to any

[i] Herrera, Decad. ii. lib. vii. cap. 2. [k] Ramusio, vol. i. fol. 361. [l] Argensola Conquista de las Islas Malucas, lib. i. [m] Emanuel de Faria y Sousa Epitome de las Historias Portuguesas, lib. iv. cap. 11.

conclusion [o]: but the insinuation before mentioned ran so strongly in the head of a monarch whose ambition made him always necessitous, that, under pretence of the near relation between them, and his unwillingness to create uneasiness in their respective families, he resolved to drive as good a bargain with the king of Portugal as he could; and accordingly, August 22, 1529, he concluded an agreement by which, in consideration of the sum of three hundred and fifty thousand ducats, to be paid him at several short times therein stipulated, he consented to mortgage his title, whatever it was, and to appoint commissioners for re-examining these affairs; with a proviso that he should not be at liberty to act, whatever their decision might be, till he had repaid that sum [p].

His agreement very unpleasant to the Spaniards, who also make proposals.

The Spaniards, who in those days were very free speakers, and did not apprehend their kings to be infallible or impeccable, were very angry with this agreement, in which, they said, the emperor had sacrificed their interests, in order to come at a sum of money he very much wanted, to defray his coronation in Italy; yet, to shew that they meant something more than clamour, they offered an expedient, which, according to their notions, might reconcile his private and his public interests; which was, that the cortes, or parliament of Castile, should pay the money advanced by the king of Portugal, for which the emperor should make them a grant of the Moluccas for six years, during which the staple for spices should be fixed at Corunna, and after the expiration of that term, the emperor should be again at full liberty to dispose of that trade as he pleased: but his imperial majesty, either from particular reasons, or from a point of honour, because he knew the king of Portugal relied upon the treaty he had concluded, rejected the proposal, and ordered a fleet ready to sail to the Moluccas, to be disarmed [q].

The Settlement and Conquest of the Philippine or Manilla Islands; the Methods taken to fortify and to secure them, and the Dangers to which they were exposed on every Side, from open and avowed as well as from secret and sinister Enemies.

THIS agreement deprived Spain of the Moluccas during the remainder of that and some part of the succeed-

[o] Eden's History of Travayle. [p] Argensola Conquista de las Islas Malucas, liv. i. [q] Histoire Generale d'Espagne, tom. v. p. 196. Argensola, lib. i.

ing

ing reign; but then, together with the rest of the dominions of Portugal in all parts of the world, they fell under the power of Philip II. [r] yet, notwithstanding this sudden loss of what had been so lately found, the discovery of Magellan proved of very great consequence to the crown of Spain, not only as it opened a new passage to the South Seas, but as it made way for subjecting a great number of rich islands to the crown of Spain, and might be attended with still farther advantages. Ferdinand Magellan, coming in sight of a small part of these islands, on the day dedicated by the church of Rome to the memory of St. Lazarus, called so many of them as he saw the Archipelago de St. Lazaro [s]. It was so long after his discovery as the year 1543, before we hear of any Spanish squadron being sent to these seas; and then Don Lopez de Villalobos sailed thither, and took a view of some of the most considerable islands, giving them, as some say, the name of the Philippines, in honour of the Infant Don Philip, then prince of Spain [t]; but others affirm, that they were not so called till the adelantado Michael Lopez de Legaspi went, in 1564, when king Philip was actually on the throne, in order to reduce them in earnest. He first subdued the island of Zebu, and others in its neighbourhood, which were then called the Pintados, on account of their being inhabited by naked Indians, whose bodies were strangely painted. In this expedition he spent no less than six years; and being then informed, that there were countries much better worth his arms, he in some measure abandoned those that had already submitted, and collected all his force, that he might undertake his new expedition with greater probability and certainty [u].

The islands now called the Philippines, how, by whom, and at what time, discovered.

When he had placed a small garrison in Zebu, and made the best dispositions he could for the preservation of that and the adjacent islands, he embarked all his forces, and went over to possess himself of Luçon, or, as it is pronounced, Luzon, one hundred and fifty leagues from Zebu. He fought the barbarians, who defended themselves bravely. Legaspi ran into a bay four leagues over at the mouth, where is an island now called Marivelez. The bay runs thirty leagues up to the city of Manilla, and is eight leagues over, lying north-west and south-east. The inhabitants of this city opposed him with more bravery

The reduction of Luçon, or Luzon, and the raising Manilla to the rank o a metropolis.

[r] Emanuel de Faria y Sousa Epitome de las Historias Portugueses, lib. v. cap. 7. de las Islas Filipinas. [s] Ramusio, vol. i. p. 356. [t] Relac. [u] Purchas Pilgrims, vol. iii. p. 284.

than the Pintados, because they had cannon and a fort; but as soon as they saw that taken by the Spaniards, they submitted. This was done so expeditiously, that the people from the country had not time to come in, and thus he entered Manilla. At a point of it, which is shut in by the waters of the bay, a considerable river empties itself, which rises in the great lake called Bahi, five leagues distant. This point, which at first is narrow and sharp, presently widens, because the sea-coast runs away to the south-south-east, and the river west, leaving a most spacious plain for the city, which is all encompassed with water, except that part which lies to the south-west. Legaspi then built it of wood, whereof there is great plenty in those parts. The roofs he covered or thatched with the leaves of nipa, which is like sedge, or sword-grass, and a sufficient fence against the rains, but combustible, and the occasion of great conflagrations, which have often happened [x]. The Chinese were formerly masters of all these islands, as their own historians relate; but finding their empire in danger of breaking to pieces by its own bulk, they slighted these, and many other frontier provinces, upon this judicious maxim, that a smaller country, well peopled, and well cultivated, was better able to support its government, and receive the benefits of a wise and just administration, than a vast empire, the extremities of which, from their very situation, must be exposed to frequent and inevitable calamities [y]: but, notwithstanding the island of Luçon, or Luzon, was no longer under the dominion of this nation, yet many thousands of Chinese were settled there, when Legaspi made himself master of the capital, most of whom retired to their own country afterwards, but continued to keep up their trade, and, at the proper seasons of the year, came hither in vast fleets. The Japanese also pretended to have a claim upon this country [z]; so that the Spaniards found themselves on every side surrounded by enemies; and instead of meeting with any relief from king Philip's adding the territories of Portugal to their own, they found it a dead weight upon them, more burdensome, and more expensive, than all the difficulties they had to struggle with before.

The first person who put Luzon into such a state of defence, as freed them from all apprehensions of falling the

x Relac. de las Islas Filipinas. Tour du Monde, par Gemelli Careri, liv. iv. chap. 2. y Purchas Pilgrims, vol. iii. p. 283.
z Relac. de las Islas Filipinas y Malucas, por Hernan de los Rios Coronel.

victims

victims of any sudden invasion, was Gomez Perez de las Marinnas, knight of the order of St. Iago, or St. James the Apostle, a person of high reputation, who arrived at the Philippines in the year 1590, and brought with him his son Don Lewis, knight of the order of Alcantara.

Don Gomez Perez de las Marinnas, having adjusted domestic affairs, meditates greater things.

The new governor found Manilla open, without any form of a city, and the inhabitants in general without the wealth necessary to improve it. Above two hundred thousand pieces of eight were wanting for this purpose, which he presently undertook to provide; and though it seemed impracticable, yet he compassed the work by several contrivances, without any damage to the public, or to private persons. He monopolized cards; laid penalties on excessive gaming; punished such as forestalled the markets, and victuallers and other retailers that were guilty of frauds. With these fines he built the walls of Manilla, which are twelve thousand eight hundred and forty-nine geometrical feet in compass [a]. The city having but one fort, and that ill-built, he erected another at the mouth of the river, calling it St. Iago. He finished the cathedral, and built the church of St. Poteneiana, patroness of the island. Then he applied himself to casting heavy and small cannon; built gallies to cruise and trade; and, pursuant to what he had promised in Spain, bent his thoughts towards the reduction of Ternate, and all the Moluccas. He reflected on the unfortunate expeditions of his predecessors, who attempted the conquest of that flourishing kingdom, and how he might punish those who tyrannized in it; which project of his, calculated chiefly to satisfy the desires of the court of Spain, had a very unfortunate catastrophe, notwithstanding all this nobleman's care and circumspection [b].

His unfortunate expedition for the recovery of the Moluccas, in which he perished.

This governor, who had been hitherto admired and adored by the inhabitants, found himself of a sudden suspected and disliked. The people began to apprehend, by his preparations, that he had such an expedition in view, and this it was that lost him their confidence. He had therefore recourse to art, pretending sometimes that he had intelligence of great designs formed by the Chinese; at others, that they were in danger from Japan. Under colour of these false alarms, he increased his land forces, built a greater number of gallies, and provided

[a] Relac. de las Islas Filipinas y Mulucas, por Hernan de los Rios Coronel. [b] Tour du Monde, par Gemelli Carreri, p. v. liv. i. chap. 9.

every thing that he thought necessary, not only for the complete conquest of the Moluccas, but for maintaining and defending them against any enemies whatever [c]. As men were wanting to row the gallies, the governor had recourse to the Chinese, and of these, partly by promises, partly by pay, he gained a great number, yet not enough for his purpose, and therefore, at last, he pressed them into the service. October 17, 1593, he sailed with his whole squadron, having on board about three thousand soldiers, exclusive of seamen and rowers. On board his own galley there were two hundred and fifty Chinese, and fourscore Spaniards. The former rose, in a dark night, upon the latter, murdered them all, except two, and carried off the vessel [d]. This event put an end to the expedition, and in that respect was fortunate to the Spaniards; for his son Don Lewis returning to Luzon, was hardly settled in the government before a numerous Chinese fleet arrived, under the conduct of several mandarins. They gave but a very dark account of their business; but it quickly appeared that, having intelligence of the expedition against the Moluccas, they apprehended the conquest of Luzon would have been easy, if that expedition had taken effect; but perceiving the army and the fleet returned, and the people highly enraged at the treachery of their countrymen, they judged it best to withdraw [e].

The city of Manilla in the utmost danger of being destroyed by an insurrection of the Chinese.

After such an escape, one would imagine succeeding governors might have taken warning; but either their own ambition was so great, or the orders received from Spain so precise, that they went on in the same track, and were continually hazarding the Philippines, in hopes of recovering the Moluccas from the Dutch, so long as Portugal continued annexed to the crown of Spain. Neither were they free from the other inconveniency, produced from the avarice and negligence of their governors, who, for the sake of the high duties, suffered too many of the Chinese to remain in the suburbs, notwithstanding the terrible consequences with which this piece of false policy has been attended. Thus in the time when Don Pedro de Acuna was governor, who had been extremely kind to these people, and was thought to be beloved by them, some mandarins came from China, under a very frivolous pretence, but in reality to persuade their countrymen to

[c] Relac. de las Islas Filipinas y Malucas, por Hernan de los Rios Coronel. [d] Argensola Conquista de las Islas Malucas, lib. ix.
[e] Relac. de las Islas Filipinas.

revolt,

revolt, and to furnish them with arms, the governor being at that time intent upon a new expedition. On the feast of St. Francis, the Chinese attacked the city with the utmost fury, putting to death, without mercy, all that came in their way. The rebellion was general, and the dispute lasted many days; but at length the Japanese, and other strangers, as well as natives of the island, coming in to the assistance of the Spaniards, the Chinese were reduced, or rather extirpated, upwards of twenty-five thousand of them being killed: the large suburb that they inhabited was burnt to the ground, and therein perished all sorts of rich goods, to an immense value[f].

An embassy from China, occasioned by the massacre which followed on the insurrection.

In a short time after this transaction, several mandarins arriving from China, expostulated roundly with the governor, about what had happened to their countrymen; affirming, that they were not the aggressors, but that they were attacked and murdered by the Spaniards, for the sake of plundering four hundred shops, and possessing themselves of the substance of eight thousand families; for which outrage in the name of the emperor of China, they demanded ample satisfaction, with threats of sending an army on board a thousand sail of vessels, in case what they demanded was refused[g]. Don Pedro answered the ambassadors, that these were notorious falsehoods: that four or five thousand Chinese, indeed, died innocently, as having no hand in the insurrection; but that they were killed by their countrymen: for that very reason, that he had spared as many as could be spared, and had sent them on board the gallies; but if they had a mind to carry them to China, they might: and that as to the money and effects of the deceased rebels, they were not plundered, but safely laid up, and should be restored to their heirs, if they could be found, or, otherwise, laid out in works of charity. These excuses were either accepted, or the loss was, in comparison of the profits by this trade, so little regarded, that, in April following, the Chinese fleet was as numerous as ever, and the suburb was quickly filled again with inhabitants. About this period, one of the most powerful princes of Japan sent over an ambassador to Don Pedro, with rich presents, and instructions to demand some persons capable of building him ships, and casting cannon; which request as

[f] Gemelli Carreri Tour du Monde, lib. iv. Argensola Conquista de las Islas Maluccas, lib. ix. [g] Relac. de las Islas Filipinas y Malucas, por Hernan de los Rios Coronel.

might have been expected, he refused, though with all the civility possible, and yet not without giving great offence.

The conquest of the Moluccas by Don Pedro de Acuna, which, however, were soon lost.

The same governor, Don Pedro de Acuna, had also the honour of atchieving, what had been the ruin of his predecessors, the reduction of the Moluccas. He received his Catholic majesty's command upon this subject, together with a considerable supply of vessels, troops, and military stores, from New Spain, in the year 1605; notwithstanding which, he very much apprehended the success of this undertaking; but being informed that the Dutch were entirely master of those islands; that they had a considerable fleet, and were preparing to attack him in the Philippines, he quickly changed his sentiments[j]. These informations being laid before the principal persons, both of the clergy and laity, they became as eager, and as industrious, in promoting this enterprize, as they had been backward and dilatory upon all like occasions, in times past. In the beginning of January, 1606, Don Pedro sailed with a numerous fleet, having upwards of three thousand men on board, and a good train of artillery. He found the Dutch and the natives perfectly well agreed, and in a good condition to receive him; nevertheless, he attacked the island of Ternate, and, with the assistance of the king of Tydor, reduced it, and, in a small space of time, the whole Moluccas. He carried back with him, amongst the prisoners taken in this expedition, the king of Ternate, his son, and twenty-four persons of the first distinction, with whom he entered, in triumph, the capital city of his government, on the 10th of June; but he had not much time to enjoy this success; for, some base people, who envied and hated him, caused him to be poisoned, July the 3d, 1606, to the great detriment of the Spanish nation[k].

Advantages by which the Dutch were enabled to drive out the Spaniards.

In the space, however, of a few years, things were in as bad a condition as ever; notwithstanding all the efforts that could be made by the Spanish governor of the Philippines; a circumstance at which the reader will not at all wonder, when he considers, that the people under this government undertook these expeditions unwillingly; that the Portuguese were very indifferent as to their success; that the Dutch had the advantage of numbers, and of being better and sooner supplied; and that, not know-

[j] Relac. de las Islas Filipinas y Malucas, por Hernan de los Rios Coronel. [k] Argensola Conquista de las Islas Malucas, lib. x.

ing

ing as yet what masters they would make, the natives, in general, were their firm and faithful allies. These frequent miscarriages begetting continual complaints and never-ceasing demands from the Philippines, it was debated in the councils of Philip the Third, as it had been in those of Philip the Second, whether it might not be for the advantage of the Spanish monarchy to quit the Philippines entirely, and leave them to be occupied by any other nation, or to return again into the hands of their old masters the Chinese.

The Italians and Flemings were of opinion, that those islands should be relinquished as unprofitable and burthensome to the crown of Spain. The old Spanish counsellors argued strenuously for their being retained under a reformed administration. The king himself declared that he would not abandon the Philippines, because, since they came into his possession, there had been half a million of souls converted to the Christian religion; that if the silver of New Spain was employed to protect those new converts, it could not be better bestowed; that to quit these provinces, was to abandon vast countries and many nations to idolatry; and that, after having wasted so many millions in opposing heresy, it would very ill become a Catholic prince to endeavour the making some small savings at the expence of Christianity [k].

A particular Account of the Name, Situation, Extent, Climate, Produce, Natural and Civil History of Luçon, the principal Island among the Philippines; together with an exact Detail of the Government, Ecclesiastical and Civil.

THE principal island of the whole archipelago is called Luçon, or Luçonia, from the name imposed by its inhabitants, which is pronounced Luzon; the Spaniards call it Manilla, or, as it is sometimes written, Manila, from its capital. As to its situation, it is remarkably happy, having the continent of China on the north, at the distance of about sixty leagues: the famous islands of Japan to the north-east; the sea between them, of the breadth of two hundred and fifty leagues: on the east it has no other boundary but the ocean: to the south lie the rest of the islands of this great archipelago, the number of which, great and small, some affirm to be eleven hun-

[k] Don Juan Grau y Montfalcon Justification, &c.

dred:

dred: on the west lie Malacca, Patana, Siam, Camboia, Cochin-china, and other provinces of India, the nearest at the distance of three hundred leagues [l].

Its situation and extent.

The middle of this island is in the latitude of fifteen degrees north. In shape it is said to resemble that of an arm bent, but it is very unequal in compass. The eastern point, running into the ocean, is not above a day's journey over; but in the northern part it is, where narrowest, between thirty and forty leagues from sea to sea. The whole length is about one hundred and sixty Spanish leagues, and the circumference about three hundred and fifty. At the elbow of this arm, looking towards the south-east, a large river falls into the sea, and makes a noble bay thirty leagues in compass, to which the Spaniards have given the name of Bahia, because the river runs out of the great lake Bahi, which lies at the distance of about six leagues behind it [m].

The longitude of this island from the Dutch charts, and from those of Magellan.

In respect to the longitude there are great variations, occasioned chiefly by the disputes which Magellan raised in order to justify his scheme. According to a Dutch map, drawn at a time when that nation had some views upon these islands, the middle of the island lies in the longitude of 113 degrees east from London; which however does not very well agree with Magellan's chart, according to which it should lie in the longitude of 160 degrees from the famous line settled by the courts of Castile and Portugal, for the division of their discoveries [n]. Magellan asserted, that his charts were settled from astronomical observations; and, according to him, all the countries to the east of the peninsula of Malacca were within the bounds of Spain, upon which the title of the Spaniards to all that they possess in the East Indies is grounded, that is, with regard to the crown of Portugal; for, as to the other princes and states of Europe, they have as little to do with these treaties as with the pope's bull, to which no reverence can be expected but from princes in communion with the church of Rome.

The climate of Manilla, its advantages and disadvantages, and the age of the inhabitants.

As to the climate of Manilla, it is hot and moist; the moisture is occasioned by the vast abundance of waters of all sorts; wells, lakes, springs, rivulets, and great rivers; and the sun being in their zenith twice a year, that is, in

[l] Relac. de las Islas Filipinas. [m] Gemelli Careri Tour du Monde, lib. iv. cap. 7. [n] Relac. de las Islas Filipinas y Malucas, por Hernan de los Rios Coronel.

May

May and in August, it may be easily conceived that the vapours raised must be very copious. One thing is held very extraordinary, that in stormy weather there is much lightning and rain, and that thunder is seldom heard till this is over. During the months of June, July, August, and part of September, the west and south winds blow, which they call vendavales, bringing such rains and storms that the fields are all overflowed, and they are forced to have little boats to go from one place to another. From October till the middle of December the north wind prevails; and from that time till May, the east and east-south-east, which winds are there called breezes. Thus there are two seasons in those seas, by the Portuguese called monzoens, whence our word monsoons, that is, the breezes, half the year, with a serene dry air; and the vendavales the other half, wet and stormy [o].

The air being here very hot and moist, is not wholsome, yet is worse for young men that come from Europe than for the old: the natives use no other bread but rice, and that not so nourishing as what we have in Europe. It is perceived that the higher grounds are the most healthy; persons of distinction have their country houses in the mountains, to which they retire about the middle of March, and continue there to the end of June. As for the natives, without using many precautions, they live to fourscore or a hundred; but it is very rare to see an European above sixty, unless he came there [p] pretty much in years; and for this reason it has been thought that few persons of great quality have accepted this government.

Fertility of the soil, its produce; why destitute of corn, though very capable of bearing it.

The soil is famous for its fertility, and that to a degree, which, if we were to insist on it particularly, would appear incredible. Rice, which elsewhere requires much cultivation, grows in every part of this island with little or no care at all, even on the tops of the highest mountains, without being watered; and this circumstance occasions such plenty, that the Indians value gold so little as not to pick it up, though it lies almost every where under their feet [q]. Wheat is sometimes so scarce, as to be sold for ninety pieces of eight a bushel, because they have none but what is imported; yet the soil is very capable of bearing it, as appeared by an experiment that was made, when one bushel produced one hundred and thirty. As

[o] D. F. Navarette Tratados Historicos de la Monarchie de China.
[p] Relac. de las Islas Filipinas y Malucas, por Hernan de los Rios Coronel. [q] Navarette, Gemelli Careri, Luyts.

for

for rice, which is the corn of the country, it is of different kinds, some requiring four or five months between the sowing and harvest, and some sown and reaped within the space of forty days.

But exposed, with all these advantages, to many and great inconveniences.

With all its fertility, Manilla is subject to great disadvantages; the very worst of these are earthquakes, which are here both frequent and terrible; next to these may be reckoned their burning mountains, of which there are several. Nevertheless, the face of the island is far from being disfigured by them, or by the consequences of their explosions; on the contrary, there is no soil more pleasant or fruitful. The grass grows, the trees bud, blossom, and bear fruit at once, all the year round, and this as well on the mountains as in gardens. For this reason the tinguiani, that is, *mountaineers*, have no particular place of abode, but always live under the shelter of the trees, which serve them instead of houses, and furnish them with food; and, when the fruit is eaten up, they remove where there is a fresh sort. The orange, lemon, and other European trees, bear twice a year: if they plant a sprig, in a year it becomes a tree, and bears fruit.

There are the richest fruits, spices, and drugs, in the Indies, in this island.

The richest fruits of the West Indies, as well as the East, grow here plentifully, and some that are to be found no where else. They have forty different sorts of palm-trees, the most excellent cocoas; and the best cassia in such plenty, that they feed their hogs with its fruit. In the mountains they have wild cinnamon, wild nutmegs, and some say wild cloves also; ebony, sandal-wood, together with excellent timber for building and shipping. All kinds of cattle they have in the greatest abundance, so that a large fat ox does not cost above four pieces of eight: civet-cats are very common here, and their civet highly valuable; amber is thrown upon their coasts, and frequently ambergrise in prodigious quantities; sometimes there are pieces found of forty, fifty, and even sixty, pounds weight. Hardly any country yields more or better wax, which is made without any trouble to the inhabitants, farther than that of looking for it in the woods[r].

Ye the chief and most valuable commodity of Manilla is gold, with which it abounds.

Last of all, this country abounds with gold to a degree that can hardly be affirmed of any other, except the adjacent islands; for though in some provinces there is more, in others less, yet in every part of Manilla gold is to be found on their mountains, washed out of the

[r] Relac. de las Islas Filipinas y Malucas, por Hernan de los Rios Coronel, Navarette, Gemelli Carreri.

earth

earth by the heavy rains; in the mould of their vallies, carried down by the rivulets; and in the sand and mud of their lakes, brooks, and rivers. When the Spaniards first arrived, the Indians were much more industrious in gathering this precious metal than they are at present, for the sake of the ornaments they made of it; about which they are now become very indifferent, because they are commonly taken from them; neither would they gather it at all, if in some places they were not obliged to pay their tribute therein, and in nothing else [s]. It is by this imposition, that the Spaniards obtain about a thousand or fifteen hundred pounds weight every year, without the use either of fire or quicksilver; whence it is easy to conceive what immense sums Manilla would produce, if they could oblige its inhabitants to work as in Chili and Peru; but they have found by experience, that, in the sentiments of these people, death is much more eligible than such slavery.

Of the original inhabitants of this island, their colour, disposition, &c.

The Spaniards found upon the coast a nation of Moors, who called themselves Tagalians, or Tagaleze, who certainly came from Malacca, or perhaps more immediately from Borneo; whether driven by tempest, or came of their own free choice, is more than can be determined. That they are really Malayans by descent, is evident from their colour, shape, habit, manners, and language. They are for the most part a modest, tractable, and well-disposed people. In some provinces they found Pintadoes, that is, painted Negroes, persons tall, streight, strong, active, and of an excellent disposition: lastly, blacks, who lived in the mountains and thick woods, on whom the Spaniards have bestowed the name of Negrilloes, who are held to be the aborigines of the island, and are the most enthusiastic lovers of liberty in the world. Their sole principle is, an abhorrence of submission, whence there is no government amongst them, and scarce any society: those who inhabit the foot of a mountain are mortal enemies to those who dwell at the top of it, and both are equally hated by those who live in the middle. When they kill a Spaniard [t], they make a cup of his skull, and drink out of it; in other respects they are barbarous and brutal to the last degree. Neither is this character taken wholly from the Spaniards; for, before their time, the Tagaleze

[s] L'Amirante D'Hieronimo de Banvelos y Carillo Relac. de las Islas Filipinas, Gemelli Carreri.

[t] Tour du Monde, par Gemelli Carreri, cap. vi.

and

and the Pintadoes found them as incorrigible, and dealt with them no otherwise than by knocking them on the the head[u]. In the mountains, near springs, and in caves pleasantly situated, live a nation called the Ilayas, or Tinghianos, whom some suppose to be descended from the Japanese, as free as the Negrilloes, but agreeing with them in no other respect, for they are very brave, and yet very courteous and humane. They live entirely upon the gifts of nature, and never sleep under any other shade than that of the trees or a cave. They never hurt either Spaniards or Indians, unless they attempt to deprive them of their liberty; but they shew no mercy to the poor Negrilloes, from a principle of self-defence. It is generally believed, that these black people are the same who inhabit New Guinea, and several islands between that country and the Philippines: though it is now two hundred years since the Europeans had some knowlege of that country, yet are we still ignorant whether it be a continent or an island; whether under the power of one prince, or of many; and whether the people are disposed to trade, or are of the same intractable humour with the Negrilloes in the island of Manilla.

Of the province of Balayan, and that of Camarines, the cities, ports, produce, &c.

It is now necessary to speak of the provinces into which this island is divided: that of Balayan is next the city of Manilla, and extends along the coast, on the east side of the island, a little beyond the bay of Batangas. There were in it formerly gold mines, but they have been long since abandoned. It is inhabited by about two thousand five hundred tributary Indians, and abounds in cotton, rice, and palm-trees. This province is well cultivated; and here the Spaniards have, generally speaking, their country-houses. Adjoining to this is the province of Calilaya, or Tayabas, which reaches to Cape Bondo, and up the country to Mauban, on the opposite coast of the island: it has more inhabitants, and is larger than the other. Next is the province of Camarines, in which are Bondo, Passacao, Ibalon, metropolis of the government of Catanduanes; Bulan, where the ship called the Incarnation was cast away returning to New Spain in 1649; Sorsocon, or Bagatao, where the king's ships are built; and Albai, a large bay without the streight, where there is a high burning mountain seen at a great distance by the ships coming from New Spain: in this mountain there are some springs

[u] D. F. Navarette Tratados Historicos de la Monarchie de China, lib. vi. cap. 4.

of

of hot-water. Beyond Albai, eastward, is the cape of Buysaygay; and then the island runs northward, leaving the isles of Catanduanes on the right-hand. Coasting from thence westward, they meet the river Bicor, which flows from a lake, and runs by the city Caceres, founded by the second governor and proprietor of these islands, D. Francis de Sande. Here resides the bishop of New Caceres, under whom are the provinces of Colilaya, Camarines, and Ifalon [w].

Of that of Paracale, and that of Cagayan.

Next to the province of Camarines is that of Paracale, where there are rich mines of gold, and other metals, and of excellent loadstones: in it dwell about seven thousand tributary Indians. The soil is good, and very level, producing cacao and palm-trees, from the last of which they get much oil and wine. Three days journey from Paracale, along the coast, is another bay called Mauban, where the island winds, and makes as it were the bend of the arm opposite to the elbow where Manilla stands. Sometimes the ships coming from New Spain have left their money here, to be sent to Manilla. Without this bay is the port of Lampon, like that of Mauban. From Lampon to Cape Engano the coast is inhabited by none but Negrilloes, or Barbarians. Here begins the province and district of Cagayan, which is the largest in the island, being eighty leagues in length, and forty in breadth. The metropolis of it is the city called New Segovia, founded by the governor D. Gonzalo Ronquillo, and in it the cathedral church. The city stands on the bank of the river of the same name, which runs almost across all the province. There resides the chief alcayde, with a garrison of Spanish foot. A stone fort was built here, and other works made of gabions and wood, for a defence against the revolted Indians called Ilayas, who live on the sides of high mountains which divide the whole island. In this province the parishes belong to the Dominicans [x].

The most northerly cape is that called Del Engano, dangerous by reason of the northern winds and great currents. Fifteen leagues from New Segovia eastward is Cape Bojador; and then doubling the cape, and coasting along from north to south twenty leagues, ends the province of Cagayan, and begins that of Illocos. The peaceable Cagayans, who pay tribute, are about nine thousand, besides those that are not subdued. The whole province is fruitful; the

[w] Relac. de las Islas Filipinas, Gemelli Carreri. [x] D. F. Navarette, Gemelli Carreri, Luytz.

men

men able of body, inclined to tillage and arms, and the women to several sorts of work in cotton. The mountains produce wax in such plenty, that all the poor burn it instead of oil. On the mountains there is abundance of brasil, ebony, and other sorts of wood of great value. In the woods, store of wild beasts, as boars, but not so good as those in Europe; and deer, which they kill for their skins and horns, to sell to the Chinese [y].

Of the province of Illocos.

The province of Illocos is the richest and best peopled in the island; its coast extends forty leagues. On the bank of the river Bigan, the governor Guido de Laccazaris, successor to the adelantado, in the year 1574 built the city Fernandina. Up the country the province is not above eight leagues in breadth, being interfected by mountains and woods inhabited by the Igolotti, a tall warlike people, and by blacks not subdued; yet the extent of the whole country was viewed, when the army marched seven days, travelling three leagues a day through woods of wild nutmegs and pines, and at length reached the top of the mountain, where were the principal habitations of the Igolotti. They live there because of the gold found in those parts, which they gather, and exchange with those of Ilocos and Pangasinan, for tobacco, rice, and other commodities. Besides gold, this province produces much rice and cotton, of which they make quilts, and other furniture [z].

Of the province of Pangasinan.

Adjoining to this is the province of Pangasinan, for about forty Spanish leagues along the coast; its breadth is about eight or nine leagues; and very like Ilocos. The mountains and plains produce much brasil wood, called by the Indians sibucan, used in dying red and blue. The inland parts are full of wild Indians, who, like brute beasts, wander naked up and down the woods and mountains, only covering their privities with a leaf. They sow a little rice in their vallies; and what more they want they get in the conquered country, in exchange for small bits of gold they gather in the rivers. In the province of Ilocos there are nine thousand that pay tribute, and seven thousand in that of Pangasinan. On the coast of this province is the port of Bolinao and Playahonda, famous in the Philippine Islands, for the victory there obtained by the Spaniards over the Dutch. Next to this lies the province of Pampanga, where the diocese of New Segovia ends, and that of the archbishop of Manilla begins. This province is

[y] Relac. de las Islas Filipinas. [z] Gemelli Carreri Tour de Monde, p. iv. lib. i. cap. 7.

large;

large; and of great consequence, because the natives, being well instructed by the Spaniards, help to defend the island, and have stood by them upon all occasions, not only in Manilla, but in Ternate, and other provinces. Besides, the soil is very fruitful, particularly in rice, so that it furnishes Manilla. It also yields timber for building of ships, the woods being on the bay, not far from the port of Cavite. It contains about eight thousand Indians, who pay tribute in rice. In the mountains of this province dwell the Zambali and Negrilloes. These are always fighting among themselves, to defend their woods from their neighbours, and secure their game and pasture [a].

Of the provinces of Bahi and Balacan.

The province of Bahi, lying east of Manilla, is no less important for building of ships. About the bay of this name, and in the neighbouring farms, grows the best fruit that is eaten in Manilla, especially the bonga or arecca, and the buyo, which is the same as betle. This is an aromatic and delicate fruit; but it must be observed, that this of Manilla exceeds all other; and the Spaniards from morning till night never cease chewing of it. The fruit this plant bears is called taclove. This province suffers very much by the continual labour the natives are put to in felling timber for building ships, two hundred, and sometimes four hundred, being employed every month in this work on the mountains, or at the port of Cavite. The king allows them a piece of eight a month, and rice enough. The whole province contains six thousand tributary natives. The province of Bulacan, lying between Panpanga and Tondo, is small, its inhabitants Tagalians, and abounds in rice and palm-wine; the number that pay tribute, three thousand. It remains to say something of a small province near the mouth of the channel; because, though its metropolis be on the main land of Manilla, yet the rest of it is made up of several islands, as Catanduanes, Masbate, and Burias. Catanduanes is thirty leagues in compass, ten in length, and its shape is almost a triangle. It is one of the first met with in the way to the islands; and so near the Embocadero, or mouth of the channel of St. Bernardin, that some pilots, mistaking it, have lost their ships; for, believing they were entering the mouth of the streight, they found themselves among dangerous flats, which are all round the island a musket-shot from the shore. Its being exposed to the north wind makes it always stormy; for

[a] Relac. de las Islas Filipinas. Navarette, Gemelli Carreri, Luyts.

which reason there is no sailing thither but from the 15th of June to the middle of September [b].

Of the island of Catanduanes.

It abounds in rice, oil of palms, cocoas, honey, and wax. There are several rivers, dangerous to cross, in the channel of which there is gold found, brought down from the mountains by floods. The biggest of them is called Catandangan, and by the Spaniards Catanduanes, whence the island took its name. The chief employment of the natives is carrying wood, and making very light boats, which they sell at Mindora, Caleleya, Balayan, and other places. They first make one very large, without any deck, and not nailed, but sewed together with Indian canes, and then others less and less, one within another, and thus they transport them a hundred leagues [c]. The people are warlike, and paint themselves like the Bisayas. They are excellent sailors; and, leaping into the water, turn a boat again in a moment, that has been overset. For fear of such accidents, they carry their provisions in their hollow canes close stopped, and tied to the sides of the boats. Their habit is only a waistcoat, which reaches down to the knees. The women are of a masculine size, and apply themselves as much as the men to tillage or fishing. They are modestly clad in a coat or jerkin, after the manner of the Bisayas, and a long mantle. Their hair is tied on the crown of the head, making a knot like a rose. On their forehead they wear a plate of gold two fingers broad, lined with taffeta; in their ears three gold pendants, one in the place where the European women use it, the other two higher. On their ankles they have rings, which make a tinkling noise as they move. We are next to give a short description of its capital, which is also that of the Philippines, and the dominions of his Catholic Majesty in the East Indies [d].

A description of the city of Manilla, the capital of the island of Luçon, and the Philippines.

The city of Manilla, as has been already hinted, stands upon that point of land where the river that comes out of the lake runs into the sea, and whence Ragia the Moor, who had fortified himself with ramparts upheld by palm-trees, and furnished with small guns, was beaten by Michael Lopez Legaspi on the 19th of June, 1571. In compass it is two miles, in length one third of a mile; the shape irregular, being narrow at both ends, and wide in the middle. It has six gates. The wall on the side next Cavite is strengthened with five little towers with iron

[b] Tour du Monde, par Gemelli Carreri. [c] Coronel, Navarette, Luyts. [d] Navarette, Gemelli Carreri, Luyts.

gun;

guns; but on the angle, next the land, is a noble bastion called La Fundizion, or *the Foundery*; and beyond it another, not inferior to it, between which is Puerta Real, or *the Royal Gate*, well furnished with brass guns, and good out-works. Farther is the gate of Parian, over which there is a battery of breast artillery. Proceeding still by the river side, we come to St. Dominic's bastion, and thence go on to the castle which terminates the city, washed on the south by the sea, and on the north and east by the river, over which there are drawbridges to enter at the royal gate, and that of Parian. The palaces of Manilla, though all of timber above the first floor, yet are beautiful from their handsome galleries. The streets are broad; but frequent earthquakes have spoiled their uniformity, by overthrowing houses and palaces, which are not rebuilt [e].

The number of inhabitants in the city, and in Parian.

Manilla contains about three thousand souls, of various mixtures, qualities, and complexions, produced by the conjunction of Spaniards, Indians, Chinese, Malabars, Blacks, and others inhabiting that city, and the adjacent islands. Though Manilla be so small, if we look only on the circumference of its walls, and the number of inhabitants, yet it will appear large if we include its suburbs; for within a musket-shot of the gate of Parian is the habitation of the Chinese merchants called Sangleys, who in several streets have rich shops of silk, porcelain, and other commodities. Here are found such as exercise all arts and trades; so that all the wealth of the citizens runs through their hands, through the indolence of the Spaniards and Indians, who apply themselves to nothing. There are about three thousand of them in this suburb, and as many more throughout the islands.

Of the Chinese who inhabited that suburb.

There were formerly forty thousand; but abundance of them were put to death in tumults they raised at several times, and particularly that on St. Francis's eve, in 1603, after which they were prohibited staying in the island by his Catholic Majesty. This order is very little observed, for there always remain behind many of those that come every year, in forty or fifty chiampans, loaded with commodities; the profit being very great at Manilla, which they could not find in China, from the small price manufactures bear. The merchants or sangleys of Parian are

[e] Relac. de las Islas Filipinas y Malucas, por Hernan de los Rios Coronel, Navarette, Gemelli Carreri.

governed by an alcaide, to whom they allow a good salary, as well as to the king's solicitor, their protector, to his steward and other officers, besides all the duties and taxes to the king (R). They pay his majesty ten thousand pieces of eight a year for the privilege of playing at metua at their new year; and yet this permission is but for a few days, that they may not throw away other men's money. Metua is the game of even or odd, at which they play, laying down small heaps of money, to be won or lost by guessing right [f]. They that use this sport are so expert, that they know the number by viewing the dimensions of the heap. The Spaniards keep the Chinese very much under, not suffering them to be in Christian houses at night, and obliging them to be without light in their houses and shops.

Of the other suburbs of Manilla.

Over the bridge adjoining to Parian are the suburbs or hamlets of Tondo, Minondo, Santa Cruz, Dilao, S. Miguel, S. Juan de Bagumbaya, Santiago, Neustra Seniora de la Hermita, Malati, Chiapo, and others, to the number of fifteen in all [g], inhabited by Japanese, Tagalis, and other nations, under the government of an alcaide.

Of the buildings in Manilla and in the country adjacent.

The houses are generally of wood, near the river, and standing on pillars, with steps going up to them, after the manner of Siam. The roofs are covered with nipa, or palm-tree leaves, the sides of cane, and they ascend to them by ladders, because the ground is moist, and sometimes full of water. In the time of the petty king Matanda, Tondo was fortified with ramparts and cannon, but could make little resistance against the Spaniards. In the space between these hamlets, on both sides of the river, as far as the lake of Bahi, there are gardens, farms, and country-houses, pleasant enough to behold; so that, looking on it altogether, it is much like the large villages in the neighbourhood of Siam. As to the public edifices, they were formerly much more magnificent than at present, experience having taught them that wood or cane are far better materials for building in that country than

[f] Tour du Monde, par Gemelli Carreri, cap. 2. [g] Mendoza Descript. de l'Isle du Luçon.

(R) The industry and address of these people are so great, and they have the art of managing the passions, and attacking the foibles of those they deal with, so dexterously, that they constantly carry away almost all the silver that comes by the annual ship from Mexico.

brick

brick or stone; but the magnificence which reigns within shews sufficiently that they are not either strangers or enemies to splendor[h]. The Jesuits college was by far the most considerable building in the city in all respects; it was founded in 1581, and, like other houses of that society, had been increasing in wealth, as the fathers who inhabited it had done in credit and power, till the late dissolution of that order. There are besides a vast number, in proportion to the size of the place, of churches and religious houses. The castle or fort stands, as we have already observed, at the west end of the city, having the sea on one side, and the river on the other: it is styled the Citadel of St. James, and was originally fortified in the shape of a triangle, having one bastion towards the sea, another towards the river, and a third at the west point to cover the port, which is only fit for small vessels. And now, having said so much of the city, let us step out a little, and take notice of another place of consequence, which is generally considered as the sea-port, because, as we observed, small vessels only come up to Manilla[i].

A description of the port of Cavité.

This town is called Cavité, a name bestowed upon it by the Tagalians, or Tagalese; it lies three leagues south of Manilla, on a long narrow neck of land, on one side of which is the sea, and on the other the bay that forms the port. It is defended by the castle of St. Philip, which commands the port, and is by much the best fortress in the island, being a regular square, with four good bastions well supplied with cannon; and here are the principal magazines for military and naval stores. The bay is for the most part very deep; there is in it plenty of good fish, and the sides of it are sprinkled with very pleasant villages[k]. Directly against the mouth of this bay lies the island of Maribeles, about three leagues in compass, and half a league in length. It is about twenty-four miles distant from Manilla; and, though a place of very great consequence, has but a small guard under the command of an officer, who is also the corregidore, or civil magistrate in the village. There are three mouths or entrances from the sea into the bay, the first between that island and Punta del Diablo, or *the Devil's Point*, which is about a mile and a half over, very deep, and therefore most used;

[h] Gemelli Carreri Tour du Monde, part. iv. liv. i. chap. 2.
[i] Coronel, Navarette, Lüyts. [k] Recueil des Voyages qui ont servi à l'Etablissement de la Compagnie des Indes Orientales, tom iii. p. 102.

the second lies between the opposite shore and the rock called De los Cavallos, or *the Horses*; it is scarce a mile over, shallow, and with many rocks in the passage, so that it is very unsafe: the third lies between the rock before mentioned and the point of Marigondon, it is nine miles over, but encompassed with flats and shoals, so that it is dangerous to sail through it without a good pilot. The port itself is in the form of a semicircle, very well defended from south winds, but not so well sheltered from the north. On the same point with the castle of St. Philip stands the arsenal, where the galleons are built, for which service there are from three to six or eight hundred Indians constantly employed, who are relieved every month, and, while upon duty, maintained at the king's expence. To the town, or, as some call it, city, of Cavite, belongs the suburb of St. Roch, inhabited by Indians and Chinese as well as Spaniards, and more populous than the town itself. There are likewise upon this coast several other ports, but far less considerable; and yet of great use, as they afford shelter to the Japonese junks, and the vessels of other Eastern nations, which at the proper season of the year resort thither annually in great numbers [l].

The ecclesiastical and civil government of Manilla.

In respect to the government, we will begin with the church. Manilla was erected into a bishoprick in 1581; and seventeen years after became an archbishoprick, through the favour of the pope and the king of Spain: to this prelate all the clergy in these islands are subject, as their metropolitan. He receives yearly out of the king's treasury six thousand pieces of eight; and the twelve canons or prebendaries of his cathedral church have a clear income of between four and five hundred crowns each, paid them in like manner. Besides Manilla, there are three other bishopricks in the Philippines; namely, Zebu, Camerines, and Caggayan; each of these prelates have five thousand pieces of eight a year, as hath the bishop, without any declared see, who succeeds in the first vacancy, to prevent the inconveniencies that might ensue from waiting the best part of six years, till the successor could be sent from Spain. The inferior clergy are very numerous; and, as all of them receive more or less from the royal treasury, a great burden on the state [m]: yet we must not hastily pro-

[l] Relac. de las Islas Filipinas. Voyage de Compagnie, tom. viii. p. 98. [m] Gemelli Carreri Tour du Monde, p. v. liv. i. chap. 5.

nounce

nounce it an useless burden, since it is very certain that the natives are retained within the bounds of their duty rather by the exhortations and influence of the ecclesiastics than by any other method. As to the civil government, the city of Manilla is governed by two alcaides; the rest of the cities and great towns in the island have each an alcaide; and in every village there is a corregidor. Appeals from their sentences are made to the royal court at Manilla, in which there are four judges and a fiscal or attorney-general; each of these judges has a salary of three thousand three hundred pieces of eight per annum. The viceroy is president, and, in that quality, has an income of four thousand pieces of eight, but he has no vote; yet, if the judges are divided equally, the president names a doctor of the civil law, who, in virtue of his appointment, has a decisive voice. The attorney-general, in right of his office, is protector of the Chinese, in consideration of which he receives six hundred pieces of eight every year [n].

In what manner the Indians are governed, and the nature of encomiendas.

As for the Indians that are in subjection, they pay tribute in the following proportions: young men from eighteen, and from thence, if they continue single, to the age of sixty, pay five rials of plate by way of capitation; as single women likewise do from twenty-four to fifty; married men pay ten rials. It is computed that there are within the compass of this government two hundred and fifty thousand Indians, subject to his catholic majesty, of whom two fifths hold immediately from the king, and the rest from lords or proprietors. Such a lordship is called, in Spanish, encomienda, and the proprietor encomendaro; but out of these there are considerable deductions, such as two rials for every head for the maintenance of the forces, and the like sum for the parish priest. The royal revenue is computed at about half a million of pieces of eight, exclusive of casualties. In reference to the military force, the garrison of Manilla consists of about eight hundred or a thousand men, and there are about three thousand more in the Philippines. The viceroy is by his office captain-general, with a salary of about four thousand pieces of eight [o]. Having thus considered the several points proposed to be explained in relation to the island of Luzon, and its capital the city of Manilla, we are next to attempt a short description of the rest of the Archipelago.

[n] Relac. de las Islas Filipinas, Navarette, Gemelli Carreri.
[o] Don Juan Grau y Montfalcon Justification, &c.

A Detail of the other Islands dependent upon it, their Situation, Commodities, Tribute, Advantages, and Disadvantages; with the Manner in which their Inhabitants are treated, and their Obedience secured by the Spaniards.

A succinct account of the rest of the Philippine Islands, in their natural order.

THE most natural way of describing the small islands in the vicinity of Luçon, or Luzon, is to speak of them, as they lie along the channel through which the galleon always passes in her voyage to New Spain, first; and then of those that lie south, west, and north, of that island. The nearest of these is Capul, three leagues in compass, the soil fruitful, pleasant and commodious, for the Indians, who live after the manner of the Bisayas. A few leagues north-west from the mouth of the streight lies Ticao, eight leagues in compass, inhabited by free Indians, or, as the Spaniards style them, savages. There is in it a good port, with the conveniency of fresh water and wood, and it is therefore the last land touched at by the galleons [p]. Four leagues west of Ticao is Burias, five miles in compass. It has but few tributary Indians, who are comprised in the parish of Masbate, which is another larger island south of it, and not far distant from Ticao. This island of Masbate is thirty leagues in compass, eight in breadth, and proportionably long. Its ports are commodious for their ships to take in water. Here are about two hundred and fifty Indian families, who pay tribute in wax, salt, and civet. But those that dwell in the mountains,, and originally came from other parts, are numerous. The gold mines produced formerly considerable quantities of that metal, twenty carats fine [q]: they do not at present work in these mines. As for the Indians, if they have but a dish of rice, they never mind that metal; and if ever they gather any in the rivers, it is when they are pressed for their tribute, and then they gather just as much as serves to pay it. The shores of these islands are often enriched with ambergrise, cast up by the current of the channels that run upon them [r].

Leaving Ticao, Masbate, and Burias, behind, and holding on the same way, we find the island of Marinduque, fifteen leagues from Manilla. It is eighteen leagues in compass, high, and abounding in cocoa and other fruit-

[p] Recueil des Voyages qui ont servi à l'Etablissement de la Compaignie des Indes Orientales, vol. iii. p. 90, 91. [q] Gemelli Carreri, Tour du Monde, p. v. liv. i. chap. 8. [r] Relac. de las Islas Filipinas, Navarette, Gemelli Carreri.

trees,

trees, on which the inhabitants live, because there is but little rice. There is a great deal of pitch made, but little wax. Mindoro is about eight leagues from Manilla, and five from Marinduque; fifteen leagues long, eight in breadth, and seventy in compass. The broadest part of it is that which looks towards the south, where, together with another high and round small island called Ebin, it makes a streight between it and Panay, which they call Potol. There is another known by the name of Calabite, between it and Luban. The land of Mindoro is high and mountainous, abounding in cocoa and all sorts of fruit-trees; but rice grows only in some parts. Along its channels, and the mouths of its rivers, dwell those Indians who pay tribute; and on the east, north-east, and on the side opposite to Manilla, are Tagalians, and so towards Panay and Bisay. Up the country live the Manghiani, who, though differing in language, agree in having no form of government; they go naked, only covering their privities; and change their habitations according to the season of the year, because they live upon wild fruit. Though they are not far from Manilla, they have not yet lost their simplicity, exchanging the wax of their mountains for nails, knives, needles, rags, and other baubles [s].

The islands of Marinduque, Mindoro, Ebin, &c. described with an account of their produce and people.

Baco is the metropolis of the island, where the alcaide, or governor resides: not far from Baco is a place they call Old Mindoro, from which all the island took its name. Cape Varadero stretches out towards Tal, a village on the coast of Manilla, between the two bays of Bombon and Batangas; and a small island called Verde, or Green Island, lying between them. The channel for the ships going to and from Cavitè is not above a mile over; and this narrowness is the cause of the whirlpools and currents, which endanger ships when they have not a fair wind and current at their entering the channel. In Mindoro and Luban they reckon there are one thousand seven hundred inhabitants, who pay tribute in wax and black hemp, which the cocoa-trees produce, and serves to make cables for the king's ships. Luban is a small low island, five leagues in compass; near it is the little isle of Ambil, in which is a high round mountain, seen at a great distance, by reason of the flames it throws out. On the other side Luban, northwards, there is no island of note; only beyond Cape Bajador, opposite to new Segovia, at eight leagues distance from it, are the low little islands of Babuyanes, stretching

An account of the island Luban, and the produce and people of that and the adjacent isles.

[s] Gemelli Carreri, Tour du Monde, p. v. liv. i. chap 8.

out

out towards the islands Formosa and Lequios. In the nearest, which is conquered, there are about five hundred natives that pay tribute. It produces wax, ebony, botatas, cocoas, plantanes, and other things for the maintenance of the inhabitants. Fourteen or fifteen leagues south-west of Luban are the Calamides, a province made up of seventeen islands, all subdued, besides many others not yet reduced; among the first of which is a great one called Paragua, part belonging to the Spaniards, and part to the king of Borneo [t].

Of the isles of Paragua, and the flat islands which lie between that and the great isle of Borneo.

This island of Paragua is the third in bigness among the Philippines. The compass of it about two hundred and fifty leagues, the length one hundred; but the breadth not above twelve in some places, and fourteen in others. The middle of it lies between nine and ten degrees of latitude: its furthest cape, called Tagusau, towards the south-west, is fifty leagues distant from Borneo, in which interval there are many low islands that almost join the two great ones. The inhabitants of the coasts of these islands, and of Tagusau, are subject to the Mohammedan king of Borneo [u]; but up the country are Indians unconquered, barbarous, subject to no king, and therefore all their care is not to be subdued by the Borneans or the Spaniards; half the lands of this island are in their possession. The Spaniards have in it about twelve hundred tributary Indians, blacks, like those of Africa, who range about from place to place, without any certain abode. They are faithful to the Spaniards, who keep a garrison there of two hundred men, part Spaniards, and part Indians, with an alcayde, or governor, whose residence is at Taytay, on the opposite point to Borneo, or, as the Spaniards call it, Bornei, where there is a fort. The lampuan, or governor for the king of Borneo, resides at Lavo. The island is almost all very high land, and full of trees and wild beasts, and produces abundance of wax on the mountains, but very little rice [w].

At a small distance from the northern cape of Paragua, and west from Manilla, are three islands, called Calamianes, which give their name to a province or government. These, and nine others near them, are comprehended in the same province, but are all small, and inhabited by peaceable Indians. In some of them there are one hun-

[t] Relac. de las Islas Filipinas, Gemelli Carreri, Navarette. [u] Tour du Monde, Gemelli Carreri, p. v. liv. i. chap. 8. [w] Relac. de las Islas Filipinas. Navarette, Luyts.

dred

dred and fifty, that pay tribute, in others fewer. The chief product of their mountains is wax, which they gather twice a year. In the rocks over the sea, are found those so much esteemed and high prized birds nests; and on their coasts also are very fine pearls.

The small islands of Cuyo, and the fine, fruitful, and populous island of Panay.

Beyond the Calamianes, in sight of the high mountain of Mondoro, are the five islands of Cuyo, not far distant from one another. In them there are about five hundred tributary families, still more civilized, and better affected to the Spaniards than those of Calamianes and Paragua. They are very laborious, and therefore gather abundance of rice, grain, and fruit. The mountains abound in all sorts of beasts and fowls. At these islands ends the province of Calamianes, and begins that of Panay, the first land whereof is Potol. As Paragua is the largest next to Manilla and Mindanao, so Panay is the best peopled, and most fruitful in all the archipelago [x]. Its shape is triangular, and its compass one hundred leagues. The names of its principal capes are Potol, Naso, and Bulacabi. The coast from Bulacabi to Potol, lies east and west; from Potol to Naso, north and south; from Bulacabi to Iloilo, another cape, less than the great ones, is also north and south; from Iloilo to Cape Naso, east and west. The middle of the island is in the latitude of ten degrees. On the north side, almost in the middle between the two capes of Potol and Bulacabi, the famous river Panay falls into the sea; and the mouth of the harbour is covered by a small island, called Lutaya, in which port the Spaniards had a safe retreat, before they discovered and conquered Manilla and Cavite. The fertility of Panay is caused by the many rivers that water it; for there is no travelling a league without meeting a river, but more particularly by the Panay, which gives its name to the island, and runs a course of forty leagues [y].

Of the government, produce, revenues, and number of inhabitants, in that island.

The island, for the better administering of justice, is divided into jurisdictions; the first, called Panay, contains all that lies between Cape Potol and Bulacabi; the rest of the island is subject to the alcayde of Otton, who resides at Iloilo, a point of land running out into the sea, on the south side, between the two rivers of Tig Bavan and Jaro, and, with the island Imaras, forms a streight not above half a league over, or rather an open harbour. On this point, the governor Don Gonzalo Ronquillo caused a fort to be built, in the year 1681. The island contains about sixteen thousand three hundred and sixty

[x] Tour du Monde, Gemelli Carreri, p. v. liv. i. chap. 8.
[y] Mendoza, Coronel, Luyts.

tributary

tributary Indians, partly belonging to the king, and partly to particular encomienderos, or lords; but they all pay in rice, the island producing one hundred thousand bushels, Spanish measure, and but little other grain [z]. The inhabitants are stout, lusty, and industrious farmers, and expert huntsmen, the country being full of wild boars and deer. The women make cloth of several colours. There are in the island fourteen parishes, belonging to the fathers of the order of St. Augustin, three benefices of secular priests, and formerly one college of the society of Jesus, where they administer the sacraments to the garrison of Iloilo. Besides the tributary Indians, there are here those blacks the Spaniards call Negrilloes, who were the first inhabitants of the island, and afterwards driven into the thick woods by the Bisayas, who conquered it. Their hair is not so stiff curled, nor are they so stout and strong, as the Guinea blacks. They live in the most uncouth parts of the mountains, with their wives and children, all naked like beasts. They are so swift, that they often overtake wild boars and deer. They stay about the dead beast as long as it lasts; for they have no other subsistence but what they acquire with their bow and arrows. They fly from the Spaniards, not so much through hatred, as from fear. Among the islands about Panay lies Imaras, opposite to Iloilo, and about a quarter of a league distant. It is long and low, ten leagues in compass, and three in length, the soil fertile, abounding in salsaparilla, and exceeding good water. On the mountains there are wild boars, deer, and good timber. It has also in it the port of St. Anne, three leagues from Iloilo [a].

An account of some other islands.

Ten or twelve leagues to the northward of the point of Bulacabi is an island, called Sibuyan, of the same sort with the last. Two leagues to the northward are Romblon and Batan, and the then island of Tablas, larger than any of the others, and five leagues distant from the point of Potol. In it there are many Indians, who speak the same language, and are little different from those of Panay in other respects. These are all the lesser islands that lie close to the great island of Manilla; let us next proceed to those which are beyond, and at a greater distance [b].

Between the two great islands of Luçon, or Manilla, and Mindanao, the former the most northern, the latter the most southern, of this archipelago, are those of Leyte,

[z] Relac. de las Islas Filipinas. Gemelli Carreri. [a] Mendoza, Gemelli Carreri, Luyts. [b] Relac. de las Islas Filipinas.

Samar,

Samar, and Bohol, which, one after another, enter into that large ſemi-circle, which is formed by them all together. The firſt of the three, and neareſt to Manilla, is called Samar, on the ſide which looks towards the iſles, and Ibabao on that ſide next the ocean. It is like the trunk of a man's body, without head or legs. Its greateſt length, from Cape Baliquaton, which, with the point of Manilla, makes the ſtreight of St. Bernardino, in 13 deg. 30 min. north latitude, extends to that of Guignan, in 11 deg. towards the ſouth. The other two points, making the greateſt breadth of the iſland, are Cabo de Spirito Santo, or *Cape of the Holy Ghoſt*, the high mountains of which are the firſt diſcovered by ſhips from New Spain; and that which lying oppoſite to Leyte weſtward, makes another ſtreight, ſcarce a ſtone's-throw over. The whole compaſs of the iſland is about one hundred and thirty leagues. Between Guignan and Cape Spirito Santo is the port of Borognon, and not far from thence thoſe of Palapa and Catubig, and the little iſland of Bin, and the coaſt of Catarman. Veſſels from countries not yet diſcovered are very frequently caſt away on the before mentioned coaſt of Palapa. Within the ſtreights of St. Bernardini, and beyond Baliquaton, is the coaſt of Samar, on which are the villages of Ibatan, Bangahon, Cathalogan, Paranos, and Calviga. Then follows the ſtreight of St. Juanillo, without which, ſtanding eaſtward, appears the point and little iſland of Guignan, where the compaſs of the iſland ends. It is mountainous and craggy, but fruitful in the few plains there are. The fruits there are much the ſame as that of Leyte; but there is one peculiar ſort, called by the Spaniards chicoy, and by the Chineſe, who put a great value on it, ſeyzu, without kernels [c].

Of the iſland of Samar.

The iſland of Leyte takes this appellation from a village called Gieyte, ſeated on a bay oppoſite to Panamao. From the point of this bay, northwards, one ſide of the iſland runs as far as the ſtreight of St. Juanillo, twenty leagues in length. Then turning down from north to ſouth is the iſland of Panahan, at about thirty leagues diſtance, where there are two points, three leagues aſunder; the firſt called Cabalian, the other Motavan, a name taken from a rock directly oppoſite, now called Sogor. Ferdinand Magalhaens, the firſt diſcoverer of theſe iſlands, in 1521, entered through this ſtreight of Panahan. He who gave him the beſt reception was the lord of the little

Of the iſland of Leyte.

[c] Relac. de las Iſlas Filipinas.

iſland

island of Dimassavan, who conducted and guided him to Cebu, and there was baptized, together with the king of that island [d]. From Dimassavan, or Sogor, westward, there are forty leagues to the point of Leyte, and so ends its compass of ninety or one hundred leagues.

Enjoys an excellent air, and has something peculiar in its seasons, which are very remarkable.

It is well peopled on the east side, that is, from the streight of Panamao to that of Panahan, on account of the fruitful plains; but there are vast high mountains, which cut it almost through the middle, and occasion so great an alteration in the air, that when it is winter on the north side, at the same time as with us in Europe, it is summer on the southern coast. Thus, when one half of the island reaps, the other sows, and they have two plentiful harvests in a year, to which several rivers running down from the mountains not a little contribute. These mountains abound in game, as deer, wild cows, and boars, and several sorts of fowl. The earth produces great store of roots, on which the inhabitants feed as much as upon bread, grain, cocoa-trees; and good timber to build ships. Nor is the sea inferior to the land, yielding plenty of good fish. The island contains about nine thousand Indians, that pay tribute in rice, wax, and quilts [e].

Its produce and revenue.

The air is fresher in Leyte and Samar than at Manilla, and consequently these islands are more pleasant. On the side of Baybay and Ogmua, Leyte is next to Bohol, the third island, formerly under the care of the fathers of the society, that is, the Jesuits. Its length from north to south is sixteen leagues, its breadth eight or ten, and its compass forty. The south coast, looking towards Mindanao, is the best peopled; that is, from Lobog, the metropolis, to the little island or peninsula of Panglao. There are three others with fewer inhabitants, but in all they do not make above twelve hundred that pay tribute. The soil does not produce rice, but is rich in gold mines, and yields a vast abundance of cocoas, batatas, and several sorts of roots, which serve instead of rice. There are multitudes of cattle in the mountains, and fish in the sea, which the natives exchange with those of the neighbouring islands, for cotton. The people speak the Bisayan language, but are whiter, and have better countenances than those of Leyte, Samar, and Panay, and are bolder men, both at sea and on shore [f].

[d] Pigafetta, Argensola, Coronel. [e] Gemelli Carreri Tour du Monde, p. v. liv. i. chap. 9. [f] Relac. de las Islas Filipinas.

Of

Of the Island of Cebu, the first Seat of the Spanish Government. The Passage between Lima and that Island shorter, and more commodious, than between Manilla and Acapulco. The Island of Mindanao, rich Commodities thereof, and the present State of the Inhabitants; as also of Xolo; with the Reasons why the Spaniards have not been able to extend their Authority farther, or make the Revenue of these Islands turn to a better Account.

CEBU, Sogbu, Sibu, or Zebu, is but small, not extending above fifteen or twenty leagues, the breadth eight, and the circumference forty-eight. The chief point towards the south-east is called Burulague; and hence its two coasts run, the one from north-east to south-west, to the streight of Tanay; the other from north to south, to the island of Matta, four leagues in compass, and the city of the Holy Name of Jesus [g]. This is seated on a point, in latitude 10 deg. almost in the middle of the island, and distant from the isle of Matta a musket-shot on the east, and a cannon-shot on the west, where Magellan was killed, with his father-in-law, the chief pilot, and captain John Serrano. Between these two lands lies a port, sheltered from all winds, and with two entrances, that is, one from the east, and one from the west; but there are shoals at both. Here Magellan found many vessels, of several nations, at anchor; and the king of that place demanding of him the duties for merchandize and anchorage, he excused himself, alleging, the greatness of the Spanish monarch, and that ships of war paid none (F). *Of the island of Cebu.*

g Tour du Monde, Gemelli Carreri, p. v. liv. i. chap. 9.

(F) In the neighbourhood of Zebu, there are some small islands, called Pintadoes, from their inhabitants, to whom the Spaniards gave the same name, because many of them had their bodies painted in a very extraordinary manner. These people are blacks; and there are still many of them in the adjacent islands that are not under subjection to the Spaniards. This painting was performed by incision and burning. Some were painted all over, others only on the breast, the hips, the back, or the arms, with a great variety of figures, such as snakes, dragons, or birds of prey. This was the finery of these naked people, a kind of herald's coat, by which their great actions were declared, since all those figures were emblematical, and consequently not impressed till the person who wore them had atchieved such enterprizes as these figures denoted (1).

(1) Relac. de las Islas Filipinas.

There

There were at that time in Zebu three thousand families of warlike people; and in it was afterwards founded the first town of Spaniards, with all magistrates of note [h].

At what time it was erected into a bishop's see.

In 1598, the king made it a city, sending F. Peter de Agurto, of the order of St. Augustin, to be the first bishop. It was then permitted to Zebu to send ships into New Spain, as at this time only Manilla can send two; and for certain reasons that will be hereafter given, they now content themselves with one. In process of time, as the trade of that island increased, and more especially from the grant of annual ships, the commerce of Zebu gradually sunk, insomuch, that the chief town, though it still remains a bishop's see, is long ago become very little better than a village [i]. There are yet remaining, however, some vestiges of its ancient grandeur, such as the cathedral, two or three monasteries, and a triangular stone fort, built for the protection of the harbour, in which there are still kept two companies of Spanish foot. There are likewise in its neighbourhood two villages, which were formerly suburbs to the city: one of these is called Parian, where the Chinese merchants and artificers formerly dwelt, and in which some still remain; and the other inhabited by Indians, who are free from tribute, in consequence of their original agreement with the Spaniards, to whom they were the first that submitted, and were of very great use to them in discovering and subduing the rest of the islands. It has been computed, that there are in Zebu about five thousand families, warmly attached to the Spaniards, in consequence of their being converted to Christianity. The only kind of grain in this island is what they call borona, inferior not only to our corn, but even to rice; in colour it comes nearest to millet, but is much smaller, and of a different taste. There is also abundance of that kind of plant called abaca, which, when dressed in the same manner with flax, affords a finer and a coarser kind of thread. Of the former they make cloth, which serves for various uses, and though not very beautiful, is, however, strong and serviceable; and of the latter they make cordage and cables, which are reported to be excellent, as they are not subject to rot by lying in the water, which is the fault of the black cordage made from the cocoa-trees. They have likewise in this island great quantities of cotton, which they manufacture into very fine quilts; and with

[h] Coronel, Argensola, Gemelli Carreri. [i] Mendoza. Tour du Monde, par Gemelli Carreri, p. v. liv. i. chap. 9. Luyts.

a woof

a woof of cocoa-thread, and a warp of cotton, they make a sort of cloth, which serves for many uses. As for more valuable commodities, they have not many; yet some they have, such as a kind of drug resembling asa fœtida, wax in great quantities, and very good, with some civet [k].

The communication between Lima and Zebu.

Before we quit this island, it is necessary to inform the reader of some particulars, of which he will not meet with any account elsewhere. We find very intelligent writers expressing their amazement, that the Spaniards, in traversing the Atlantic ocean from the Philippines to New Spain, and from New Spain to the Philippines, should discover so little, and should never be able to find again those islands that were met with in their first voyages. The commerce between the Spanish dominions in Asia and America, while it remained fixed at Zebu, did not lie between that island and New Spain, but to Peru, the voyage being made from Calao to Zebu, and from Zebu to the same port. This being almost a direct passage, was much easier and shorter than that between Manilla and Acapulco. Ships have come from Calao in two months, and have returned thither in three; and hardly any passage was made without discovering some new islands, either on the south, or on the north, of the equator. In one of these voyages, as some accounts say, in the year 1567, the islands of Solomon were discovered, which were reported to be richer than any countries that had been found before that time [l].

Discoveries in that passage.

This information induced the licentiate Castro, when he was governor of Peru, to send a fleet in 1579, under the command of Don Alvaro Mendoza and Don Pedro Sarmiento, to complete that discovery. They sailing from the port of Calao eight hundred leagues west, found certain islands 11 deg. south latitude, inhabited by people of a tawny complexion, who had in their huts cloves, ginger, and cinnamon. The first island in which they landed they called Isabella, where they fitted up a pinnace, with which, and their ship's boat, they discovered eleven great islands, between 9 and 15 deg. south latitude, all of them rich, well peopled, and abounding with spices, of which they brought back with them a considerable quantity: but Sir Francis Drake coming through the streights of Magellan into the South Seas, very soon after this period, orders came from Spain, forbidding any farther search after these islands. However, in 1595, the then viceroy of Peru

[k] Mendoza, Gemelli Carreri, Luyts, vol. iv. p. 1432. 1447.

[l] Purchas's Pilgrims,

equipped another fleet, or rather squadron, consisting of four sail, under the command of Alvaro de Mandana, who missing the islands of Solomon, discovered, between 9 and 10 deg. of south latitude, several islands, in which, chiefly through their own fault, the Spaniards were very roughly handled, lost two of their ships, and the other two, with the greatest difficulty, arrived, one of them at Mindanao, and the other at Manilla [m]. This is a distinct and clear account of the several attempts made to recover these famous islands, and will fully convince the intelligent reader, that the Spaniards have been no great gainers by the alteration of their route to the Philippines. Let us now describe the remaining part of this archipelago.

Of the islands in the vicinity of Zebu, and more particularly that of Negroes.

The islands lying next to Zebu are on the north-east, near Cape Burulaque, Bantayan, a small isle, encompassed by four or five less, in all which there are only three hundred Indians that pay tribute; and, for the most part, employ themselves in fishing, and making cotton cloth and hose. Between Zebu and the coast of Ogmach and Leyte, are other islands, called Camotes, the chief of which is Poro, dependent on Zebu. In it the point of Tanion stretches out to the island of Negroes, one hundred leagues in compass, and is separated from it by a small channel, a league over, but dangerous because of the current. This island extends northward from nine to ten degrees and a half. It is fruitful in rice, in which the inhabitants pay tribute; and it supplies Zebu, and other adjacent parts. The mountains are inhabited by blacks with curled hair, who, by reason of their numbers, gave their name to the island, and who live in a kind of brutal liberty, like their forefathers. The land is divided among them, some living on the tops of mountains, others on the sides; but they fight fiercely among themselves, if one party attempts to invade the territory of the other. This happens very often, for it is their custom, that those above can have but one wife, and her they must take by force from them below; and so, on the contrary, those below from those above; consequently every day there is bloodshed, and some or other killed, commonly with poisoned arrows. These are headed either with iron, flint, bone, or wood hardened in the fire [n].

[m] History of Navigation, prefixed to the first volume of Church. Voyages, p. 74. P. Charlevoix Fastes Chronologiques du Noveau Monde, tom. i. p. 33. [n] Tour du Monde, par Gemelli Carreri, part v. lib. i. chap. 9.

At

At the mouths of the rivers dwell a third sort of blacks, who have no commerce with the other two, and are such enemies to the Spaniards, that they give them no quarter. Nevertheless, if the island happens to be invaded by pirates of Mindanao or Xolo, they run with their arms to defend it, and this service being performed, they retire to the mountains. They behave in this manner, as looking upon themselves to be the old lords of the island. The Bisays, it is true, as an acknowlegement for having been permitted by them to settle here, supply them with rice, and the blacks requite them with wax. These Bisays live in the plain, and they are most numerous on the west side, under the direction of the fathers of the society. In the island there are about three thousand that pay tribute, governed by a corregidore and a military commander. Here grows a great deal of cacao, originally brought to the Philippines from New Spain, as also much rice, which the mountains produce without watering. The island Fuegas, otherwise called Siquior, is near this, and also to Zebu; though small, it is inhabited by people of valour, dreaded by those of Mindanao and Xolo. The island Panamao lies west, on the farthest coast of Carigara, and not above a musket-shot from Leyte °. It is sixteen leagues in circumference, the length four, and the breadth proportionable. It is very mountainous, and excellently watered by several rivers, and full of silver and quicksilver mines.

Various circumstances relating to the different inhabitants.

These are what may be called the constituent parts of the Spanish empire in the East Indies; for, with regard to the smaller islands, some of which are inhabited, and others not, it would require a volume, to give even a succinct description of them. The inhabitants of each speak a different language; and, in some of the islands, where, as we have observed, different nations inhabit, there are of consequence as many languages as there are nations. However, many of these are but dialects, occasioned by a different pronunciation, so that they understand each other, at least in some measure, without making use of interpreters. There are besides, two languages which universally prevail; and the accounts we have of these are more than sufficient to satisfy an intelligent reader, that there must have been a time when these countries were in a better condition, their inhabitants more knowing, and much more polished, than at pre-

What particulars remain to be mentioned in reference to the Spanish empire in Asia.

° Mendoza, Navarette, Gemelli Carreri.

sent[p]. We have now executed all that we proposed, with regard to the provinces under the jurisdiction of the Spanish viceroy of Manilla. But there are two islands still remaining, of which it is but fit we should say something; because though they have, long ago, thrown off the Spanish yoke, are still considered as a part of the archipelago of St. Lazarus, and are, beyond all dispute, of as much importance as any of those before mentioned, that of Luçon only excepted.

Of the noble island of Mindanao, the most southern of the archipelago.

Mindanao is next to Manilla in point of size. As to its shape, it appears almost triangular, ending in the three famous promontories of Samboangan, Cape St. Augustin, in 6 degrees north latitude, and Cape Suliago, in 10 deg. 30 min. Between Suliago and the Cape of St. Augustin, which lie north and south, is the province of the warlike nation of Caragas. Between Suliago, which points to the north-east, and Samboangan, is the province of Illigan, the jurisdiction of Dapitan, and the people called Subanos. Samboangan and Cape St. Augustin lie east and west; and the people of them on the one side and the other border upon the provinces of Buhayen and Mindanao. The circumference is about three hundred leagues; but this island has so many long points running out into the sea, and deep bays, that a man may go across it any where in a day and an half. It lies south-east of Manilla, at the distance of two hundred leagues. About it there are many islands of different sizes. Among those that are inhabited is Xolo, thirty leagues distant from Samboangan; Balisan, divided by a streight of four leagues; Sanguil, the peninsula of Santranguan, and others[q]. Mindanao being so far stretched out, and so much divided, enjoys, or participates at least of several climates, and is encompassed by stormy seas, especially on the coast of Caragas. That part which is subject to the government of Samboangan is most temperate, the winds pleasant, seldom annoyed by storms, and still less by rain. The provinces of Mindanao and Buhayen, subject to two Mooriſh kings, are very marshy, and, the plain country especially, in a manner uninhabitable, by reason of the gnats[r]. There are, throughout

[p] Argensola, Coronel, Combes, Navarette, Gemelli Carreri. Justification de la Conservation y Comersio des las Islas Philipinas. See also the subsequent sections of this chapter. [q] Combes Historia de las Islas de Mindanao, Iolo, y sus adyacintes. Recueil des Voyages qui ont servi à l'Etablissement de la Compagnie des Indes Orientales, vol. vi. p 48. Gemelli Carreri. [r] Relac. de las Islas Filipinas. Luyts, Dampier.

the

the whole extent of this iſland, about twenty navigable rivers, and above two hundred rivulets. The moſt remarkable of the former are Buhayen and Butuan, both flowing from the ſame ſpring, but the firſt runs towards the coaſt of Mindanao, the other towards the north, and falls into the ſea, in ſight of Bahol and Leyte. The third river, called Sibuguey, riſes near Dapitan, and divides the territory of Mindanao from that of Samboangan. There are alſo two lakes here, one called Mindanao, which, in that language, ſignifies *a Man of a Lake*, and gives its name to all the country, which is very large, and covered with a ſort of herbs they call tanſon, that ſpread themſelves over the water. The other, being eight leagues in compaſs, is on the oppoſite ſide of the iſland, and known by the name of Malanao. All the country, except upon the ſea-coaſt, is mountainous, yet abounds in rice, and produces very nouriſhing roots, as batatas, ubis gaves, aperes, and others. There are infinite numbers of that ſort of palm-trees which are called ſagu, of the pith of which, reduced to meal, they make bread and biſcuit throughout all the iſland of Mindanao [s], but eſpecially on the coaſt of Caragas, near the river Butuan (G).

Mindanao

[s] Gemelli Carreri Tour du Monde, p. 5. liv. ii. chap. 6.

(G) What we have delivered in the text, is ſupported by the authority of ſuch writers as atteſt what they ſaw; but a diſtinct and accurate account of ſagu, or ſagou, for ſo it is pronounced, makes a large and curious article in natural hiſtory. Without pretending to enter into this matter fully, we will endeavour to give the reader competent ſatisfaction, in as few words as poſſible. The ſagu is one of the moſt numerous ſpecies of palms, grows in moſt of the Molucca iſlands, as alſo in the iſland of Borneo, which is held to produce the beſt. It ſeems deſigned by Providence to ſupply mankind with food, in countries where no kind of grain can be cultivated to any degree of perfection. The ſoil moſt proper for it is a low marſhy ground, where it riſes to the height of twenty-five, and ſometimes thirty feet, and is as thick as a man can compaſs with both his arms. The trunk is ſmooth, for all the leaves riſe from the head. They ſpring at firſt upright and pointed, of the thickneſs, at the bottom, of a man's arm; by degrees they open, and decline their points, till they become as long as the tree is high. They are thick and ſtrong, and are employed to cover houſes, which they do much better than thatch; and for other uſes. On the back of the leaf there are ſtrong ſharp prickles, that defend them from being eaten by beaſts, and more eſpecially

The cinnamon tree peculiar to this island, and the reason why it is but of little value.

Mindanao produces all the sorts of fruit that are to be found in other islands of this archipelago; but the cinnamon is carefully separated from the latter; then mixed, tempered, and rubbed in water, till it is reduced to a flour, in which form it settles to the bottom of the vessels; and then, the water being poured off, is carefully dried, and becomes fit for use. Of this, while it is fresh, they make various kinds of food, grateful enough to Indian palates, though but insipid to Europeans, who, notwithstanding, by the help of lemon-juice, sugar, and spices, render it very pleasant. The bread made of sagu is baked between earthen pans, in the form of square tablets, six inches long, four broad, and about a finger thick. What is intended to be kept longer, the Indians have a method of graining, and it may be then preserved for many years. The flour of sagu is very light of digestion, nourishing, and wholesome, exactly suited to the climate in which it is used, and therefore in those countries there is a vast consumption of it; and the Dutch transport great quantities to their remote settlements, where their soldiers make it their principal food. Of late years considerable quantities have been brought to England and Holland, where experience shews that it is a great restorative, and very fit for weak stomachs, which it strengthens by degrees, and in time recovers the lost appetite, and helps digestion (1).

pecially by wild hogs, which feed on them greedily, when, as they grow old, these prickles fall off. As new leaves shoot, the old ones decay. The sagu grows thirty years before it produces fruit; and then, instead of new leaves, there shoots out at the top a firm piece of wood, of the size of a man's arm, from whence are produced flowers and fruit. In the latter, which is of the size of a pigeon's egg, is contained a small nut, of a black colour, and sharp sour taste. It bears but once; after which the tree gradually decays. But there are very few of these trees that are permitted to bear fruit, since it is from the body of the tree they procure that meal which is of so great use. They judge of the proper time for cutting it down from its leaves, which grow white and dry, and are easily rubbed to powder when the heart of the tree is in the best condition. As soon as it is cut down they bark it, and what is thus taken off is about two fingers thick; then they cut it into pieces of five feet long, and split each of these through the middle. Some say the meal is made from the pith; which others deny, affirming that it comes from the body of the tree; and yet this is no more than a dispute about words, since, in fact, the body of the tree is composed of different substances, that is, of a soft spungy matter intermixed with ligneous fibres. The for-

(1) From the information of a Dutch gentleman who visited these islands, and resided some time in the Moluccas.

mon

mon is a tree peculiar to this of Mindanao, grows on the mountains without any improvement, and has no owner but him that finds it. Whoever is so lucky as to meet first with such a valuable tree, begins immediately to make advantage of his good fortune. With this view, he takes off the bark before it is ripe; and so, though at first it be strong, like that of Ceylon, yet in a small time, and at fartheſt in two years, it loſes all taſte and virtue. It is gathered in twenty-five villages, and about as many rivers, of the coaſt of Samboangan, towards Dapitan, on high and craggy mountains, and in one village of the province of Cagayan. The inhabitants of Mindanao find very good gold by digging deep into the ground; as alſo in the rivers, making trenches before the floods. There is ſulphur enough for all ſorts of uſes, which may be eaſily collected in the burning mountains, the oldeſt of which is Sanxil, in the territory of Mindanao. In 1640 a high mountain broke out into flames, and clouded the air, land, and ſea, with its aſhes. In the ſea, between this iſland and that of Xolo, there are very large pearls taken [t].

An account of the iſland of Xolo, its climate, produce, and dependencies.

Thirty leagues ſouth-weſt of Mindanao is the famous iſland of Xolo, or Gilolo, governed by a king of its own. All the ſhips of Borneo touch there, and it may well be called the general mart of all the Mooriſh kingdoms. The air is wholeſome and freſh, from the frequent rains which likewiſe fertilize the ground. This, as is generally reported, is the only iſland of all the Philippines which breeds elephants; and, as the iſlanders do not tame them, as in Siam and Camboya, they are mightily encreaſed: there are likewiſe goats with ſpotted ſkins like leopards [u]. Among the birds, that called ſalangan, is the moſt eſteemed. As for fruit, it produces the durion; abundance of pepper, which they gather green; and a peculiar ſort of fruit called of paradiſe, and by the Spaniards the king's fruit, becauſe it is found no where but in his garden. It is as big as a common apple, of a purple colour; has little white kernels like cloves of garlick incloſed in a thick ſhell like a piece of leather, and is of a delicious taſte. The iſland of Baſilan is three leagues from Mindanao, and twelve in compaſs. Being oppoſite to Samboangan, it may be called the garden that furniſhes it with plantanes, ſugar-canes, and other kind of fruit with which it abounds [w].

[t] Relac. de las Iſlas Filipinas, Dampier. Monde, Gemelli Carreri, p. v. liv. ii. chap. 6. Tour du Monde, par Gemelli Carreri.

[u] Tour du

[w] Combes,

Of the several nations inhabiting those islands, their customs, manners, &c.

There are five nations in Mindanao, namely, the Mindanaos, Caragas, Lutaos, Subanos, and Dapitans. The Caragas are very brave, when employed either by sea or land. The Mindanaos faithless, lazy, and cruel. The Lutaos, a new nation in all the three islands of Mindanao, Xolo, and Basilan, live in houses built on the tops of trees, at the mouths of rivers, which at flood cannot be forded; for Lutao, in their language, signifies *a Man that swims on the Water*. These men are so indifferent about land, that they take no pains about sowing or reaping, but live upon the seas of Mindanao, Xolo, and Basilan; yet they are cunning traders, wear turbans, and use the weapons of the Moors, as holding correspondence, and being in amity, with those of Borneo. The Subanos, that is, *Dwellers on Rivers*, for suba signifies *a river*, are the lowest in esteem of any people in the island, as being base and treacherous in a supreme degree. They never depart from the rivers, where they build upon long timbers so high, that there is no reaching their dwelling with a pike: they climb up at night by a pole fastened to it for that purpose. They are as it were vassals to the Lutaos. The Dapitans exceed all the nations before mentioned for courage and wisdom, and assisted the Spaniards in conquering the islands [x].

The barbarous highlanders in Mindanao, and their unaccountable passion for liberty.

The inland part of Mindanao is subject to the mountain people, who, fond of sloth and liberty, live in those parts, without any inclination to visit the sea, or maintain themselves by tillage; and, being thus grown wild for want of commerce, gave strangers an opportunity of possessing themselves of the forsaken shores and rivers. There are also, besides these nations, in Mindanao, some blacks like Ethiopians, who own no superior, any more than those on the island, or in the mountains of Manilla; but live like beasts, conversing amicably with none, and doing harm to all they can reach. They have no settled place of abode, and in the worst of weather have no other shelter than the trees. Their cloaths are such as nature gave them, for they never cover so much even as that which ought to be hid. Their weapons are bows and arrows; and they seem to live without restraint in a state of savage nature [y].

Of the Mohammedans in these islands, and the meanness of their pretensions to that religion.

The generality of the inhabitants of these islands are Heathens; but from Sanxil to Samboangan the people along the coast are Mohammedans, more especially in the islands of Basilan and Xolo, which last is the Mecca of the

[x] Combes, Gemelli Carreri. Dampier. [y] Gemelli Carreri, Dampier.

archi-

archipelago, because the first teacher of Mohammed's doctrine is buried there, of whom the giddy-headed caques tell a thousand fables. The Spaniards, at their coming, destroyed his tomb. However, to say no more than the truth, they are generally atheists; and those that have any religion, deal in sorcery [z]. The Mohammedans know nothing of their superstition besides abstaining from swine's flesh, being circumcised, and having a plurality of wives; though they all agree in giving their minds to superstitious omens and auguries upon every accident. They are very temperate, contenting themselves with a little boiled rice, and, where that is not to be had, with roots of trees, without making use of any spice. Even the better sort use no seasoning but salt and water. Their cloaths are plain; for, being enemies to society, every man is his own taylor. One and the same garment serves for breeches, waistcoat, and shirt. They wear daggers with gilt hilts. Over their breeches they bind a piece of their own country stuff, so broad, that it hangs down to their knees; and on their heads they wear the Mooriſh turban [a]. The women, in the day-time, wear a sack instead of a petticoat, which at night serves for sheet, blanket, and quilt; yet they wear rich bracelets on their arms. Their little wooden houses are covered with mats, the ground is their only seat, the leaves of trees serve them for plates and dishes, the canes for large vessels, and the cocoa-nuts for drinking-cups. As to manners, they are more barbarous than other Mohammedans; for if the father lays out any money for his son, or ransoms him out of slavery, he keeps him as his slave; and, which is more unnatural, the son acts in the same manner by his father. They practise a thousand frauds to strangers that deal with them; and abhor theft: incest in the first degree is punished with death, that is, by casting the criminal into the sea in a sack. Law-suits are soon decided without any formalities, either in civil or criminal cases. The king of Xolo, for the administration of justice, has a prime minister whom they call Zarabandal, which is the supreme honour in that court. The great oppress the poor, because the king has not a proper degree of authority [b]. There are degrees of nobility, as of tuam, that is, *great lord*; orancayas, or *rich men*, lords of vassals. In Mindanao the princes of the blood royal are called caciles, or as pronounced, cachiles, the same style

[z] Relac. de las Islas Filipinas. Gemelli Carreri, p. v. liv. ii. chap. 6.

[a] Tour du Monde, par

[b] Combes, Gemelli Carreri, Dampier.

that

that is used in the Moluccas [c]. In time of war these people have shewn great courage, both by land and sea, against the Spaniards, whom they have sometimes grievously distressed by their piracies, and repeated descents upon their coasts [d].

Mindanao only dependent on the Spanish government in the Philippines, and the people very willing to receive any other European nation.

Great part of Mindanao was formerly subject to his Catholic majesty, which however cost a great deal of trouble in reducing, and was with much difficulty kept. Afterwards they made peace with the Mooriſh soltân, which gave them an opportunity of lessening their garrisons, and depending rather upon the zeal of their missionaries in converting the Indians, who, when they become Christians, attached themselves firmly to the Spanish government; and, as they lie at a distance from Manilla, are less exposed to oppressions. The city of Mindanao, standing upon a river of the same name, and built upon high posts, like the capital of the kingdom of Siam, is a place of considerable trade, and where there are large quantities of gold stirring. Captain Dampier informs us, that, when he was there, the soltân and his subjects manifested a great liking to the English, and would willingly have allowed them a settlement; which in his judgement was a thing very practicable, provided ships were sent thither through the South Seas; by which course, if they left England in August, they might arrive there in February. The reasons he offers in support of his opinion, that an advantageous settlement might be fixed here, are very plausible, being taken chiefly from the advantageous situation of the place, the rich commodities with which it abounds, and the trade that might be opened with the neighbouring countries [e]. But when, on the other hand, we consider the rights of our exclusive companies, which are utterly irreconcileable to such a project, our constant complaisance to the powers that might take offence at our making such a settlement, and the decay of that enterprising spirit which can alone support undertakings of this kind, there is no great reason to expect that any attempt of this sort will be made, at least in our times.

Probability that the East India trade may extend to those islands.

Yet if, amongst the variety of projects formed by those powers that are endeavouring to raise a naval strength, they should ever fall upon a scheme for traversing the South Seas, and entering this way into the Indies (which is far enough from being improbable), we shall quickly be

[c] Argensola Conquista de las Islas Malucas. [d] L'Amirante D'Hieronymo de Banvelos y Carrillo Relac. de las Islas Filipinas. [e] Dampier's Voyages, in Harris's Collection.

convinced,

convinced, that the politics of the Spaniards, English, and Dutch, in neglecting and discouraging that route, are but indifferently founded, and that the profits of an East India trade carried on this way, would very much surpass those that arise from that which is now in use. These may at present be considered as mere speculations; but the time may, and certainly will come, when posterity shall be satisfied that the Indies are but half discovered; and that countries may still be found, abounding in as valuable commodities as any that have been hitherto brought to Europe, which the inhabitants would be glad to part with for our manufactures, and which commerce would be free from that popular objection of carrying out silver; though, if this could be accomplished, there is little reason to believe that it would become more plenty in Europe, because this would lessen the demand, and consequently we should not receive so much from America [f].

The State of the Commerce between Spanish Asia and Spanish America; the Objections raised against this Commerce, and the Regulations that have been devised, in order to render it more suitable to the public Interest.

The extent of the Spanish governor's authority.

AS we have now described the principal islands in the possession of the Spaniards, we shall next examine the general state of things, and shew of how great worth and consequence the Philippines are. The governor-general, in point of rank, is at least equal, if not superior, to the viceroy of the Indies. His salary, in that capacity, is upwards of five thousand pieces of eight per annum, which, together with his appointments, as president of the royal audience, or supreme court of justice, and commander in chief of the forces, make up in the whole, thirteen thousand pieces of eight, which, however, is but an inconsiderable part of his income [g]. His power is almost without bounds, except such as are assigned by his own discretion. He has all military preferments in his gift; disposes of most of the civil employments when they become vacant; has the power of making twenty-two alcaides, or governors of provinces; puts in a governor of the Marianne islands, upon a demise, till his Catholic Majesty's pleasure is known; and names the general (so the chief officer is called on board the annual ship), which being a

[f] See Purchas's Pilgrims, vol. iv. p. 1422. [g] Relac. de las Islas Filipinas, Gemelli Carreri.

post

post worth fifty thousand pieces of eight, he does not bestow it, or indeed any thing else for nothing [h]. All the encomiendas, when they fall, are in his gift; he makes the Indians captains, majors, and colonels, in their militia; of which titles as they are very fond, so they are not unpolite to such a degree as not to express their gratitude properly to him from whom they receive those honours. In fine, he has very little less than sovereign authority, with a prodigious revenue: and all this he enjoys for eight years without control. But, as there is no condition in this life totally free from inconvenience, so there is one unlucky circumstance that attends this high office, and which renders it the less desireable: the Spanish court, considering that he is but a man, that power is apt to corrupt, and that the desire of wealth is a strong temptation, leave him, when he goes out of his government, in some measure at the mercy of the people [i].

Severe trial to which he is exposed.

When his commission is superseded, he cannot quit the island before his conduct has stood the test of a rigorous examination. His successor is commonly appointed his judge by a special commission; and, public notice having been given through all the islands, the people in general are allowed sixty days to come and make their complaints, and thirty more to produce their proofs. In some matters of high and extraordinary nature the judge is only at liberty to examine and record the evidence, which, together with his opinion, he transmits home to the council of the Indies; but in things of smaller moment he pronounces judgment [k], and this consists usually of two parts, restitution to the person injured, and a fine to the king. In former times this inquisition was very much dreaded; for, if the accusations were many and weighty, the governor was sent to prison; and there has been an instance of one that lay there five years, and others have died of the fright. Of late, it is said a present of an hundred thousand pieces of eight to the successor has been found an effectual answer to most accusations. Sometimes, however, the people have taken up arms, and punished bad governors without waiting for the judge's determination.

The commerce of Manilla.

These islands are certainly very capable of producing more than enough to defray the expence of keeping them; and yet it is generally agreed, that the public revenue

[h] Navarette, Gemelli Carreri, and Hamilton's Account of the East Indies. [i] Tour du Monde, par Gemelli Carreri, part, v. liv. i. chap. 5. [k] Navarette, Gemelli Carreri.

does

does not discharge above two thirds of the annual expence. The remainder, which amounts to about two hundred and fifty thousand pieces of eight, is every year sent in silver from Mexico; which has been all along complained of as a most heavy grievance, because, as the Spaniards will have it, this silver is never seen again; but some very wise men believe that the governors, and other great officers, transport at least an equivalent in gold and jewels, of which a great part goes by the way of Mexico, and a good deal finds its way to Spain by some other route. The commerce of these islands, though nothing near so great as it might be, yet is very considerable, since the European and other inhabitants have between four and five hundred vessels of different sizes, with which they trade, amongst the islands, to several parts of the continent of India, to the Portuguese settlement at Macao in China, and elsewhere [l]. Besides, Manilla is a kind of magazine of West and East India commodities, and at the same time is in some degree a free port, where the ships of all nations, except the Dutch, are welcome. The English trade thither either under Portuguese colours, or the colours of some Indian nation, and of late the Danes have used the same expedient. While the inhabitants of Goa were able to carry on any trade, they sent abundance of ships thither, though there are still many that carry Portuguese colours, yet most of them belong to other nations; and those that actually come from Goa are not freighted by the Portuguese, but the Canarins; so low is that nation fallen through luxury and indolence, who, while they had courage and industry, were masters of the Indies [m].

Some account of the commodities and manufactures of the Philippines.

As to the commodities of the Philippines, they consist of gold, but in no great quantity; civet, excellent in its kind, and of which they have a great deal; deer-skins, drugs, dyeing woods, wax, honey, and provisions. Besides these, they have several sorts of coarse and strong cloths, and other manufactures made by the Indians; but what chiefly attracts the foreigners are the commodities and manufactures of China, such as wrought and raw silks, gold and silver tissues, rich cabinets, and other lacquered wares, with a numberless variety of other curiosities, brought thither by that ingenious and industrious nation. Though these are without doubt the principal gainers by

[l] Relac. de las Islas Filipinas, Navarette, Gemelli Carreri.
[m] Dictionare Universel de Commerce, tom. ii. col. 889.

this

this traffick, yet it is impossible it should be carried on at Manilla without considerable profit to the inhabitants, who are vastly encreased within these few years, and if they were free from some restraints, might improve greatly in their circumstances, especially in times of peace, though in times of war they are not often disturbed, and are no longer in any danger of being attacked or invaded in their own island [n]. After all, it is the commerce between these islands and New Spain that is principally to be considered. This renders them of great consequence to his Catholic Majesty, preserves the trade with China, furnishes honourable and beneficial employments to men of great birth and small fortunes, and defends the South Seas, and the Spanish dominions that lie along the coasts of them, from being exposed to any danger on this side; to which, if these islands were possessed by any other nation, they would be infallibly exposed: therefore those ministers, who have been for depressing the inhabitants of the Philippines, are either not well acquainted with the importance of these countries, and the vast advantages that might be derived from them, or are carried away by prejudices the result of narrow and partial views [o].

Their trade when first settled, not limited in any respect.

We have observed, that, when these islands were first settled, the seat of government was at Zebu, from whence the commerce was carried on to Calao, which is the port of Lima, and was very different in many respects from what it afterwards became; for in those early days the natives readily employed themselves in searching for gold, of which the Spaniards had much greater quantities than in succeeding times, because very probably they use them better; they had also no small share in the spice trade, so that the cargoes they sent to Peru were very acceptable. After the conquest of Luçon, and the building the city of Manilla, when the Chinese trade began, in 1572, it was found requisite to make various alterations; for the voyage from thence to Callao proved very tedious and troublesome, and therefore the course was changed; and because the vessels were obliged to steer east-north-east, to have the benefit of a proper wind, the port of Acapulco was fixed upon, as in many respects the most proper for this correspondence, by which the voyage to America was shortened by

[n] Gemelli Carreri, Dictionaire de Commerce, Hamilton's Account of the East Indies. [o] Don Juan Grau y Montfalcon Justification, &c.

near

near one half [p]. The trade, however, remained perfectly free and open, as it had been from the beginning, by which the new colony flourished extremely for about thirty years. The fleet from Peru coming constantly to Acapulco pretty near the time that the galleons arrived from Manilla in order to take their share of the commodities that they brought; and thus the mutual intercourse between the Spanish subjects in the East and West Indies was carried on to the general satisfaction of all parties, notwithstanding that the returns to Manilla were chiefly made in silver, and that to a much greater amount than they are at this time [q].

Looked on as prejudicial to New Spain.

But about the beginning of the seventeenth century, his Catholic majesty's ministers in Old and New Spain, fell into great apprehensions of the consequences of the Manilla trade, which they believed tended to the impoverishment of both those countries; the clamour against these islands grew so strong, that in 1604 the trade was limited, that is to say, the people of Manilla were allowed to ship goods to the value of two hundred and fifty thousand pieces of eight, and were to carry back no more than five hundred thousand. Some time after the commerce between Peru and Mexico was interrupted upon the same principles; and there wanted not some who were for abandoning the Philippines entirely, in hopes that this would have occasioned sending more silver to Europe; a thing that would certainly have facilitated the ambitious views of the court of Madrid, which had embarrassed her with all her neighbours. For the next thirty years there was nothing but uneasiness and complaints, references to the councils of the Indies, followed by all the bad consequences that usually attend such litigious controversies; some insisting on the necessity of farther restrictions; and others alleging, that the continuance even of those was more than sufficient to prove the utter ruin of the Philippines, where however the people were by this time doubled, and though few or none of the merchants were rich, yet they had wherewithal to subsist, and carry on trade; which they would have also extended, if they had not been with-held by their governors, in obedience to the instructions that from time to time they received from the ministers at Madrid.

[p] Hakluyt's Voyages, vol. iii. p. 442. [q] L'Amirante D. Hieronimo de Banvelos y Carillo, Relaciones de las Islas Filipinas.

What

The cargo of the annual ship at length enlarged to six hundred thousand pieces of eight.

What informations we have with respect to the issue of these disputes are very far from being explicit or distinct for the last hundred years. All we know with certainty is, that the inhabitants of Manilla have been long in possession of a right to send two galleons to Acapulco, for each of which they pay to the king seventy-five thousand pieces of eight. Of these, one ought to be a ship of trade, and the other of force; but, to save expence, they send one very large ship, which they croud with goods and people to such a degree, that her lower tier of guns can never be used in her passage to Acapulco, till, by the consumption of provision, they are at liberty to raise them out of the hold, when they draw near the coast of America. These great ships are built at Bagatao, not far from Manilla, where there is a fine arsenal, and all other conveniences [r]. These ships are of very different sizes, from twelve hundred to two thousand ton; but, of whatever size the vessel be, the merchandize ought to consist of fifteen hundred equal bales, a great proportion of which belongs to the convents, that is to say, they have a right to send such a number of these bales, which they commonly sell to the merchants; and in case they want money to provide a cargo, the convent furnishes them with that too upon bottomry. But, in all this matter, there is prodigious corruption; for, instead of fifteen hundred, the ship often carries two thousand, and even two thousand five hundred bales; and, notwithstanding the magistrates and inspectors come on board, and clear the ship of these supernumerary bales, yet, in her passage through the streights of Manilla, they are all put on board again, and, to make room for them, they break their water-jars, and scarce leave the room necessary for working the ship [s]. This is the true reason that they are so long before they get clear of the land, and run the hazard of so many dangerous delays in their passage from Manilla to the Embocadero of St. Bernard, which takes up sometimes five, sometimes six weeks, or even two months.

What the cargo consists in, the manner in which the ship is manned, and the vast profit of the voyage.

With respect to the cargo, it consists in part of the commodities and manufactures of the Philippines, the latter being very convenient for the wear of the meaner sort of people in America, as they are, though coarse,

[r] D. F. Navarette Tratados Historicos de la Monarchia de China, liv. vi. cap. 31.

[s] Gemelli Carreri, Tour du Monde, p. v. liv. ii. chap. 10.

both

both lasting and cheap: but still the bulk of the cargo consists of foreign commodities, such as china, wrought and raw silks in prodigious quantities, of which we may form some computation from the number of stockings that are sent, of which there are commonly fifty thousand pair. Piece-goods is another considerable article; to which if we add spices, and large quantities of goldsmiths work and toys, the reader will be pretty well informed of the contents of an outward-bound ship. She is accounted the king's ship from the very moment that she is put in commission, and she is manned and officered accordingly. The commander in chief has the lofty title of general, and has a captain under him, who makes forty thousand pieces of eight by the voyage; the pilot makes about twenty thousand, and each of his mates about half that sum. Those that go in quality of factors have nine per cent. upon the goods they sell; and every common seaman receives three hundred and fifty pieces of eight for his voyage out and home, which is performed within a year; but then he has only seventy-five paid him when he embarks at Cavitè, and the other two hundred and seventy-five when he returns; which is a very wise provision, since otherwise their homeward-bound ships would be but meanly provided. The whole number of persons, passengers included, on board one of these ships, is from three hundred and fifty to six hundred; and, notwithstanding they are so many, they might be in all respects very well accommodated, if they would set any bounds to their avarice, and be content to send this vessel with a reasonable lading; and there are many of opinion, that it would answer their purpose better if they sent two vessels, as they did formerly, because so unwieldy a ship is not only subject to many inconveniencies, but is also often in danger; whereas if she was of a moderate size, there would be no hazard at all [t].

An Account of this Voyage annually performed by the stated, licensed, and measured Galleon, from Manilla, to Acapulco.

THE ship, having received her cargo, and being fitted for the sea, generally weighs from the mole of Cavitè about the middle of July, taking the advantage of the westerly monsoon, which then sets in, to carry her to sea. *At what time the outward bound Manilla ship sails, and her course to Aquapulco.*

[t] D. F. Navarette Tratados Historicos de la Monarchia de China, lib. vi. cap. 31.

sea [u]. When they have got through the passage, and are clear of the islands, they commonly stand away east-north-east, in order to get into the latitude of more than thirty degrees, where they expect to meet westerly winds, before which they run away for the coast of California. It is very remarkable, that, by the concurrent testimony of all the Spanish navigators, there is not one port, or even a tolerable road, found betwixt the Philippine Islands and the coast of California and Mexico; so that, from the time the Manilla ship first loses sight of land, she never lets go her anchor till she arrives on the coast of California, and very often not till she gets to its southermost extremity; and therefore, as this voyage is rarely of less than six months continuance, and the ship is deep laden with merchandize, and crouded with people, it may appear wonderful how they can be supplied with a stock of fresh water for so long a time; and indeed their method of procuring it deserves a very particular recital [w].

In how extraordinary a way they are supplied with fresh water during the voyage.

Their water is preserved on ship-board, not in casks, but in earthern jars, which resemble the large oil jars in Europe. When the Manilla ship first puts to sea, they take on board a much greater quantity of water than can be stowed between decks, and the jars which contain it are hung about the shrouds and stays; and though their jars are more manageable than casks, and are liable to no leakage, yet a six, or even a three months store of water could never be stowed in a ship so loaded, by any management whatever; and therefore, without some other supply, this navigation could not be performed. This indeed they have, but the reliance upon it, at first sight, seems so extremely precarious, that it is wonderful such numbers should risque perishing by the most dreadful of all deaths, on the expectation of so casual a circumstance. In short, their only method of recruiting their water is by the rains which they meet with between the latitudes of 30 and 40 deg. north, and which they are always prepared to catch. For this purpose they take to sea with them a great number of mats, which they place slopingly against the gunwale; whenever the rain descends, these mats extend from one end of the ship to the other, and their lower edges rest on a large split bamboe, so that all the water which falls on the mats drains into the bam-

[u] Texeira's Travels, chap. i. [w] Lord Anson's Voyage round the World, 8vo. p. 332, 333.

boe,

boe, and by this, as a trough, is conveyed into a jar; and this method of supplying their water, however extraordinary it may at first sight appear, hath never been known to fail; so that it is common for them, when their voyage is a little longer than usual, to fill all the water jars several times over. However, though their distresses for fresh water are short of what might be expected in so tedious a navigation, yet there are other inconveniences generally attendant upon a long continuance at sea, from which they are not exempted [x]. The principal of these is the scurvy, which sometimes rages with extreme violence, and destroys great numbers of the people; but at other times their passage to Acapulco is performed with little loss [y].

The true causes assigned, which render this transit over the Pacific Ocean so tedious.

The time employed in this passage, so much beyond any other navigation, is perhaps in part to be imputed to the indolence and unskilfulness of the Spanish sailors, and to an unnecessary degree of caution for so rich a vessel; for it is said that they never set their main-sail in the night, and often lie by. And indeed the instructions given to their captains seem to have been drawn up by such as were more apprehensive of a strong gale, though favourable, than of the inconveniences and mortality attending a lingering and tedious voyage; for the captain is particularly ordered to make his passage in the latitude of 30 deg. if possible, and to be extremely careful to stand no farther to the northward than is necessary for the getting a westerly wind [z]. This appears to able navigators an absurd restriction, since it can scarce be doubted that in the higher latitudes the westerly winds are steadier and brisker than in the latitude of 30 deg. So that the whole conduct of this navigation seems liable to great censure; for if, instead of steering east-north-east into the latitude of thirty odd degrees, they at first stood north-east, or even still more northerly into the latitude of 40 or 45 deg. in which course the trade winds would greatly assist them, they might considerably shorten their voyage, perhaps perform it in half the time now allotted for it. For in their journals of these voyages it appears, that they are often a month or six weeks, after leaving the land, before they get into the latitude of 30 deg. whereas steering a more northerly course, it might be done in a fourth part of the time; and, when they were once well advanced

[x] Texeira, Gemelli Carreri. [y] Relac. de las Islas Filipinas.
[z] Lord Anson's Voyage, p. 334.

northward, the westerly winds would soon blow them to the coast of California, and they would be freed also from other embarrassments to which they are now subjected at the expence of a rough sea, and a stiff gale [a].

Her voyage to the coasts of California and Mexico.

The Manilla ship, having stood so far to the northward as to meet with a westerly wind, stretches away nearly in the same latitude for the coast of California; and, when she has run into the longitude of 96 deg. from Cape Espiritu Santo, she generally meets with a plant floating on the sea, called porra by the Spaniards, being a species of sea-leek. On the sight of this plant they esteem themselves near the Californian shore, and immediately stand to the southward; relying so much on this circumstance, that, on the first discovery of the plant, the whole ship's company chaunt a solemn Te Deum, esteeming the difficulties of their passage at an end; and they constantly correct their longitude thereby, without coming within sight of land [b]. After falling in with these signs, they steer to the southward, not at all endeavouring to fall in with the coast till they have run into a lower latitude; for, as there are many islands and some shoals adjacent to California, the caution of the Spanish navigators makes them very apprehensive of engaging with the land; however, when they draw near its southern extremity, they venture to hale in for the sake of making Cape St. Lucas, to ascertain their reckoning; and to receive intelligence from the Indian inhabitants, whether there are any enemies on the coast; and this last circumstance is a particular article in the captain's instructions, for, by them, the captain of the galleon is ordered to fall in with the land to the northward of Cape St. Lucas, where the inhabitants are directed, on sight of the vessel, to make the proper signals with fires; and on discovering these fires, the captain is to send his launch on shore, with twenty men well armed, who are to carry with them the letters from the convents at Manilla to the Californian missionaries; and are to bring back the refreshments prepared for them, and likewise intelligence whether there are any enemies on the coast. And if the captain finds, from the account which is sent him, that he has nothing to fear, he is directed to proceed for Cape St. Lucas, and thence to Cape Corientes, after which he is to coast it along for the port of Acapulco.

[a] Hakluyt's Voyages, tom. iii. p. 445. Lord Anson's Voyage, p. 334. [b] Hakluyt's Voyages, vol. iii. p. 446. Gemelli Carreri Tour du Monde, p. v. liv. iii. chap. 6. Lord Anson's Voyage.

In

In obedience to these instructions all the officers on board act precisely as they are directed. These rules were originally the produce of experience; but as experience is always increasing, so the value of those instructions must decrease; and whatever the Spaniards may fancy, they are, in effect, little better than a contrivance to prevent the galleons from reaping any profit from modern discoveries. Unless the instructions could reach the wind and weather, it is hardly possible they should do much good; but they may and do occasion a great deal of delay and danger, and are the real causes that the Spanish seamen are less knowing, and less active than the English or the Dutch. We need not wonder, therefore, that they are six or seven months in making this long run, and that they very seldom reach the port of Acapulco before the Feast of Epiphany, so that they are from twenty-six to thirty or thirty-one weeks at sea. In this space they are exposed, as we may easily conceive, to great hardships, and a variety of diseases. Their biscuits are replete with maggots, all kind of food becomes corrupted; and if it was not for sweetmeats, chocolate, fresh water, and the fish that is caught after they meet with the signs, they would be reduced to great distress. The maladies under which they suffer are chiefly two; first, the berben, which is a kind of dropsy that gradually destroys the patient; the symptoms are so mild, that he commonly dies talking, and without having the least suspicion of being near his end. The other is our sea-scurvy, which is too common to be described [c].

Doubtful whether tying officers so strictly is salutary or detrimental.

The port of Acapulco is the safest and most commodious in the Pacific Ocean; the galleon enters it on the east side, the ships from Peru on the west. As soon as the vessel is moored they begin to unload the cargo, and the town of Acapulco, and the country round it, which a little before was a desert, becomes on a sudden a place of prodigious resort, and continues so till the sale is over; then, all things being adjusted, they begin without delay to provide for their return. It is to be observed, that as the outward-bound Manilla ship commonly meets with that homeward-bound upon the coast of the Philippines before her departure, so the utmost precautions are employed that every thing may be put in such order as that the galleon may return within the year, which is of great consequence, that they may arrive at a proper season to have a fair wind

Manner in which things are disposed on the arrival of the Manilla ship.

[c] Gemelli Carreri Tour du Monde, p. v. liv. iii. chap. 6.

through the ſtreights of Manilla. In the ſpace of four months that they lie in the harbour of Acapulco, they are ſure to loſe a part of the ſhip's crew through the unwholeſomeneſs of the air. But this mortality does not hinder their going back with more people than they brought thither, which is occaſioned by the number of merchants, and other paſſengers, who are deſirous of going to Manilla; yet, notwithſtanding this increaſe of people, they are not ſo much crouded as in their outward-bound paſſage, becauſe their cargo, being moſtly ſilver, takes up leſs room, and this circumſtance enables them to ſhip a company or two of ſoldiers for recruiting their garriſons in the Eaſt Indies; neither are people ſo much afraid of making this voyage, becauſe it is ſafer, ſhorter, and more pleaſant. But before we enter upon the homeward-bound voyage of the Manilla ſhip, it will be requiſite to ſay ſomewhat of the cargo which ſhe carries back, in order to form ſome notion of the profits of this trade, which will enable us the better to judge of the great queſtion, whether it be ſo detrimental to the inhabitants of New Spain, or leſſens the exportation to Old Spain, ſo much as is commonly imagined.

Amount of the cargo returned to Manilla from Mexico in the ſame ſhip.

We have already ſpecified what are the goods that are ſent from Manilla, and theſe may be well enough reduced to four different ſorts; under the firſt head may be ranged gold-duſt, jewels, and rich toys, which, though in themſelves neither neceſſary or expedient to life, yet muſt be allowed to have an intrinſic value, becauſe, amongſt all polite nations, the general opinion of mankind ſtamps ſuch a value upon them. The next are the coarſe goods which are worn by the meaner ſort of people, and theſe are neceſſaries. The third are raw ſilks, which make a conſiderable part in the cargo; and, it is ſaid, that ſeveral thouſands of people are maintained by the various manufactures in which they are employed. Under the laſt head, we may bring rich ſilks, fine ſtockings, chintzes, moſt kinds of piece-goods, ſpice, and perfumes, which are luxuries; all theſe are paid for in a great meaſure with ſilver. As to the reſt of the cargo, it is made up of cochineal, ſweetmeats, Spaniſh wines, and millinery ware from Europe, for the uſe of the ladies at Manilla, and throughout the Philippines. In order to make an eſtimate of the quantity of ſilver that returns in the Manilla ſhip, there ſeems to be no better method than to take the old proportions, for they ſeldom vary; and therefore, if, when the trade was limited to two hundred and fifty thouſand

thousand pieces of eight, the return amounted to half a million; now the trade is extended to six hundred thousand pieces of eight, the return will be one million two hundred thousand of the same pieces; which, with two hundred and fifty thousand pieces of eight annually remitted to make good the deficiency in the revenue of the Philippines, makes, in the whole, one million four hundred and fifty thousand pieces of eight; and whoever will compare this with the sums taken in the Manilla ship, will find that there is not much ground to question this calculation [d].

How far this affects the commerce between New and Old Spain.

The next thing to be considered is, how far this in reality affects New or Old Spain. With regard to the former, silver is, in fact, no more than a commodity, with which the inhabitants of the new world go to market; and, to speak impartially, it is of no great consequence to them if they part with their silver, whether it is carried east or west, into Asia or into Europe, for in both cases they see no more of it; and even they who complain most of this traffick, acknowlege that they have as much, or more, from Manilla, than they could have from Europe for the same sum. So that it is not easy to see what reason the inhabitants of New Spain should have to complain; and, in fact, they do not complain, but others complain for them; which brings us to the second question, and that is, what loss the people of Old Spain suffer by this commerce? And, so far as we can discern, that amounts to little more than the value of the silks, which, it is supposed, if they did not come this way, must come from Europe, and consequently the value of them be returned thither in silver; and to this indeed it is not easy to give any other answer than this: that the crown of Spain is best judge of the value of the Philippines, and whether the addition of that quantity of silver to her revenue, would be an equivalent for the loss of those islands, which must necessarily ensue if this commerce should be prohibited, as has been over and over demonstrated, when this point has been debated in the council of the Indies [e].

An account of the homeward-bound galleon's passage from Acapulco to Manilla.

The galleon being thus fitted for her return, the captain, on leaving the port of Acapulco, steers for the latitude of 13 or 14 deg. and runs on that parallel till he gets sight of the island of Guam, one of the Ladrones. In this

[d] Hakluyt, Purchas, Dampier, Cooke, and Lord Anson's Voyages.

[e] Taken from the Memorials in Justification of the Spanish Inhabitants of the Philippines.

run the captain is particularly directed to be careful of the shoals of St. Bartholomew, and of the island of Gasparico. He is also told in his instructions, that to prevent his passing the Ladrones in the dark, there are orders given, that through all the month of June fires shall be lighted every night on the highest part of Guam and Rota, and kept in till the morning[f]. At Guam there is a small Spanish garrison, intended to secure that place for the refreshment of the galleon, and to yield her all the assistance in their power. However, the danger of the road at Guam is so great, that though the galleon is ordered to call there, yet she rarely stays above a day or two; but getting her water and refreshments on board as soon as possible, she steers away directly for Cape Espiritu Santo, on the island of Samal. Here the captain is again ordered to look out for signals; and he is told, that centinels will be posted not only on that cape, but likewise in Catanduanas, Butusan, Birriborongo, and on the island of Batan. These centinels are instructed to make a fire when they discover the ship; which order the captain is carefully to observe; for if, after this first fire is extinguished, he perceives that four or more are lighted up again, he is then to conclude that there are enemies on the coast; and on this discovery he is to endeavour to speak with the centinel on shore, and to procure from him more particulars of their force, and of the station they cruise in; pursuant to which he is to regulate his conduct, and endeavour to gain some secure port amongst those islands, without coming in sight of the enemy; and in case he should be discovered when in port, and should be apprehensive of an attack, he is then to land his treasure, and to take some of his artillery on shore for its defence, not neglecting to send frequent and particular accounts to the city of Manilla of all that passes. But if after the first fire on shore, the captain observes that two others only are made by the centinels, he is then to conclude that there is nothing to fear, and he is to pursue his course without interruption, and to make the best of his way to Cavite, which is the constant station for all the ships employed in this commerce to Acapulco.

Before we part with this subject, it will be expected that we should inform the reader exactly how great the run from Manilla to Acapulco one way, and that from Acapulco to Manilla the other, really is; because authors

[f] Relac. de las Islas Filipinas, Navarette, Gemelli Carreri.

differ

differ very much upon this subject, as well those who, from their great skill in the mathematics, may be presumed to be good judges, and even those who have made the voyage, and therefore might put in their claim to be still better. But, as these variations plainly prove, this is a point not easily and at the same time accurately to be decided. In the passage from Manilla to Acapulco, a vessel is obliged to steer, when clear of the land, into 20 deg. higher latitude, to obtain a wind; and when she is near the coast of America, to descend again towards the equator almost as much. However, supposing the Manilla ship to get into the latitude of 35 deg. as soon as possible, and to keep as near as may be under that parallel, till she meets with the sea-weeds mentioned in the foregoing description, her course will then be about three thousand leagues, very little more or less. In returning from Acapulco to Manilla they generally get as near as may be into the latitude of the last mentioned place, and so run strait before the wind, their course amounting to about two thousand five hundred leagues; which being plainly shorter, encumbered with much fewer difficulties, and the ship having a smaller cargo on board, enables them to perform this run in half the time that is spent in the outward-bound passage. On the whole, therefore, the galleon sails from Manilla towards the end of June, or the beginning of July, reaches Acapulco about the beginning, the middle, or the end of January, is ready to sail again by the beginning of April, and enters the port of Cavitè about the same time that she left it the year before, where the seamen receive the remaining two hundred and seventy-five pieces of eight as soon as the treasure is landed[g].

An exact computation of the distance sailed by the outward and homeward-bound ship.

The Spaniards give this immense collection of water between Asia and America the title of the Pacific Ocean, because it is, generally speaking, smooth and calm along the coasts of Chili, Peru, and Mexico, insomuch that they make use of very rude methods of sailing, without meeting many untoward accidents; but they are misled who, from these accounts, infer that these annual ships are little exposed to danger, since it is very certain that many of them have perished, as well in their homeward as in their outward-bound voyages; and have been swallowed up in this ocean as well as wrecked upon the coasts of the Philippines.

Why the Spaniards bestowed the name of Pacific on the ocean between Asia and America.

[g] Gemelli Carreri, Tour du Monde, p. 5. liv. iii. chap. 6.

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How often this annual ship has been taken by the English, and when.

The peace of these seas has been often interrupted since the Spaniards became masters of the new world; and these annual ships in particular have been often attacked, and sometimes taken. As for instance, that great and very fortunate English Seaman, captain Thomas Cavendish, took an outward-bound Manilla ship as she was going into the port of Acapulco, November the 4th, 1587, within a short time after this correspondence was fixed [h]. He afterwards visited and alarmed the Philippines; neither ought we to omit that he made his passage thither in a surprising short space of time, leaving the coast of America on the 19th of November, and arriving before the streights of Manilla on the 14th of January following [i]. On the 22d of December, 1709, one of the outward-bound annual ships was taken near Acapulco by commodore Rogers, with his little squadron, consisting of the Duke, Duchess, and the Marquis; and they afterwards attacked the larger ship, but, for want of ammunition and men, were not able to carry her [k]; and on the 20th of June, 1743, a homeward-bound Manilla ship was taken by commodore Anson, for this, and other great services, created afterwards a peer of the realm [l].

The Situation, Natural History, and Commodities of the Ladrones, or Marianne Islands; their Discovery; Genius and Temper of their Inhabitants; their History, present State of those Islands; the Policy of the Spaniards in respect to them; their great Importance; and some Conjectures as to the Causes of their being so much and so long neglected.

The several names of these islands.

THE islands which we are now about to describe were originally discovered by Ferdinand Magellan, in the first attempt ever made to sail round the globe. He is said to have called them when first seen, Las Islas de las Velas, that is, *the Islands of Sails*; or De las Velas Latinas, that is, *of Triangular Sails*, from their prows, in which the inhabitants stood out to sea upon the approach of his ship; but afterwards, Las Islas de los Ladrones, or *the Islands of Thieves*; because the Indians who came on board him, stole every thing that was made of iron within their reach. It was not till the latter end of the last cen-

[h] Hakluyt's Voyages vol. iii. p. 816. [i] Sir William Monson's Naval Tracts. [k] Cooke's Voyage to the South Sea, in Harris's Collection. [l] Lord Anson's Voyage, p. 503.

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tury that they obtained the name of the Marianne Islands, from the Queen of Spain, Mary Anne of Austria, the mother of Charles the second, at whose expence missionaries were sent over thither to propagate the Christian faith. We hardly ever find them called by the name first mentioned, except in the relations of Magellan's voyage. As to the second, it became their common appellation; and in all the old books of history and voyages, as well as in maps, we find them styled the Ladrones; notwithstanding which, the last mentioned name has gradually gained ground, and prevails at present; so that they are now commonly styled in most of the languages of Europe, the Marianne, or rather, though less correctly, Marian Islands.

Their situation, number, order, size, and particular appellations.

These islands lie between 13 deg. 25 min. and 21 deg. of north latitude, almost in a line from south to north, occupying the space of about four hundred and fifty miles, having the islands of Japan on the north, and the country of New Guinea on the south, on the verge of what is called the Pacific Ocean, and at the distance of twelve hundred miles from the Philippines. Antonio Herrera says they are sixteen in number. Modern geographers acknowlege but fourteen, and place them in the following order: from south to north, namely, 1. Guahan, Guam, Guan, or, as the natives pronounce it, Guahon, or the island of St. John; 2. Zarpana, Rota, or the isle of St. Anne; 3. Aguiguan, or the island of the Holy Angel; 4. Tinian, or the island Buena Vista Mariana; 5. Saypan, or the isle of St. Joseph; 6. Anatajan, or the island of St. Joachim; 7. Sarigan, or St. Charles's island; 8. Guguan, or the isle of St. Philip; 9. Alamagan, or the island of the Conception; 10. Pagon, or St. Ignatius's island; 11. Agrigan, or the isle of St. Francis Xavier; 12. Assonsong, or the island of the Assumption; 13. Maug, or Tunas, called also the island of St. Lawrence; 14. Urrica, or Urac, which is uninhabited.

The island of Guahan.

The island of Guahan, or Guam, which is the most southern of these islands, lying in latitude 13 deg. 25 min. north, is about thirty-three English miles in length, twelve in breadth, and one hundred and twenty in circumference. There is a chain of mountains runs from south to north, between which lie many pleasant and fruitful vallies; and the mountains being covered with tall flourishing trees, look green, and very chearful at a distance. The coast is plain, and for the most part of an excellent soil, being watered, more especially on the west side,

side, with abundance of pleasant streams, the verdant banks of which render the country very delightful. On this side of the island there are two indifferent ports, Hate and Umatay, where the Dutch have sometimes careened their ships. On the east side of the island there are also two tolerable good ports, Iris and Pigpug, separated only by a point of land; but the best port of all is that of Agadna, where the Spanish town and forts stand, and where, except in hurricanes, ships may ride in the utmost safety from all winds, from ten to eighteen fathom water, the bottom being perfectly sound and good. There were formerly between thirty and forty villages in this isle, but they are now fewer; and amongst those that are left, Agadna and Umatay are all that deserve the name of towns, the houses in them being tolerably well built, and having a considerable number of Spanish inhabitants, as also churches, convents, and some other public edifices. As the climate, though warm, is equally pleasant and wholesome; as all the necessaries of life are to be obtained here, with very little trouble, in the greatest abundance; and as they have all the materials for building houses, almost in every part of the isle, it is strange that they have not more and better settlements in it; and strange r still that even those they have are far from being in a thriving condition [m]. In the year 1684, the Spaniards built a ship here, of the burden of one hundred and sixty tons, for the Manilla trade; but nothing of that kind has been done of late years.; on the contrary, they seem to make it a point of policy to preserve their present settlements, because they are absolutely necessary, without any thoughts of extending them. This is the only one of these islands in which any Spaniards, the missionaries only excepted, reside, though they send small detachments from their garrison to the adjacent islands, from time to time, to bring them refreshments; and it is here that the Manilla ship touches in her passage, for the sake of fresh provisions, and recruiting her sick, which is the principal reason that the crown of Spain has been at the expence of supporting a fortress, and maintaining a garrison, without drawing any thing from the produce of the island [n].

Zarpana, Rota, or the isle of St. Anne, lies at the distance of seven leagues from Guam, and is about forty-

[m] Giro del Mondo del Dottor Giovan, Francesco, Gemelli Carreri, Pet. Mart. Dec. v. lib. 6. Du Bois Geographie Moderne, p. ii. chap. xiv. art. v.

[n] Lord Anson's Voyage, book iii. chap. 7.

five

five miles in circumference, being in the latitude of 14 deg. north. This is also a very pleasant and fertile island, finely diversified with rising grounds, covered with lofty trees, beautiful plains of a rich black soil, and extremely well watered. There are two excellent ports, one on the south, the other on the north-west side of the island. The latter was called in the language of the natives, Socanrayo, but the Spaniards call it the Port of St. Peter. This isle was extremely populous when the Spaniards first visited Guam, and long after. Some of the missionaries suffered death in their endeavours to propagate the faith amongst the natives: at present the Indians are very few in comparison of what they were, for reasons that will appear in the course of this narrative[o].

A succinct description of the island of Zarpana.

Aguiguan, or the island of the Holy Angel, lies in the latitude of 14 deg. 43 min. about forty miles from Zarpana[p]. It is but a small island, about nine miles in compass, mountainous, but pleasant, and formerly very well inhabited. This seems to have been the island that captain Funnel touched at in 1730, when the people came off in their boats, and furnished him with fish, eggs, yams, potatoes, and other refreshments. He offered to pay them in money, which they looked at, and refused, making signs that they would be better pleased with tobacco, which was given them. To one poor Indian who went on board they offered a glass of brandy, and he seeing them drink it freely, ventured to swallow some of it, but immediately tumbled down as if he had been dead, staring with his mouth open; upon which they put him on board his own prow, recommending him to the care of his countrymen, at the same time giving them to understand, he would come to himself in a little time[q].

The isle of Aguiguan.

Tinian, or the island Buena Vista Mariana, lies at one league distance from the island last mentioned, and is about forty-five miles in circumference. A Manilla ship, called the Conception, was cast away upon this coast, in the year 1638. This island lies in the latitude of 15 deg. 8 min. north, and longitude from Acapulco 114 deg. 50 min. west; its length is about twelve miles, and its breadth about six, extending from the south-south-west to north-north-east. The soil is every where dry and healthy, and

Account of the isle of Tinian.

A more distinct view of the country of Tinian.

[o] Memoire du Pere Louis de Morales. Pere le Gobien Histoire des Isles Marianes, p. 77. Lord Anson's Voyage, book iii. chap. 1.
[p] Memoire du Pere Louis de Morales. Pere le Gobien Histoire des Isles Marianes, p. 388. [q] Funnel's Voyage round the World, in Harris's Collection, vol. i. p. 139.

somewhat

somewhat sandy, which being less disposed than other soils to a rank or luxuriant vegetation, is the reason that the meadows, and the bottoms of the woods, are therefore much neater and smoother than is common in hot climates. The land rises by easy slopes, from the very beach to the middle of the island, though the general course of its ascent is often interrupted by gentle declivities, and pleasant vallies; and the inequalities that are formed by these gradual swellings of the ground, are most beautifully diversified with large lawns, covered with a very fine trefoil, intermixed with a variety of flowers, and skirted by woods of tall and well-spread trees, most of them worth notice, either for their aspect or their fruit. The turf of the lawns is quite even, and the woods usually terminate on the lawns with a regular out-line, not broken or confused with straggling trees, but as uniform as if they had been laid out by art. There arise from hence a great variety of the most elegant and entertaining prospects, formed by the disposition of these woods and lawns, and their various intermixtures, as they spread themselves differently through the vallies, and over the slopes and declivities with which the place abounds.

Of the cattle, poultry, and of the wild hogs which the Spaniards breed here.

The animals partake in some measure of the romantic cast of the island: the cattle, of which it is not uncommon to see thousands feeding together in a large meadow, are certainly the most remarkable in the world; for they are all of them milk-white, except their ears, which are generally black; and though there are no inhabitants, yet the clamour of domestic poultry, which range the woods in great numbers, perpetually excite ideas of the neighbourhood of farms and villages, and contribute thereby to the chearfulness and beauty of the place. Besides the cattle and the poultry, here are abundance of wild hogs; but as they are very fierce, people are either obliged to shoot them, or hunt them with large dogs.

The excellency of the fruits.

It is not only the plenty and excellency of its fresh provisions that recommends this island, but it is as much, perhaps, to be admired for its fruits and vegetable productions; for in the woods there are inconceivable quantities of cocoa-nuts, with the cabbages growing on the same tree. There are besides, guavas, limes, sweet and sour oranges, and a kind of fruit peculiar to these islands, called by the Indians rima, but by us, the *bread-fruit*, constantly eaten by the seamen instead of bread, and universally preferred to it: it grows upon a tree which is somewhat lofty, and which, towards the top, divides into large and spreading branches.

branches. The leaves of this tree are of a remarkably deep green, notched about the edges, and are generally from a foot to eighteen inches in length. The fruit grows indifferently on all parts of the branches: it is in ſhape rather like a large pear than an apple, and is covered with a rough rind, and is uſually ſeven or eight inches long; each grows ſingly on its ſtalk. This fruit is, in the propereſt ſtate, to be uſed when it is full-grown, but ſtill green; at which time its taſte has ſome reſemblance to that of an artichoke bottom, and its texture is not very different, for it is ſoft and ſpungy. As it ripens it grows ſofter, and of a yellow colour, and then contracts a luſcious taſte, and has an agreeable ſmell, not unlike a ripe peach; but in this ſtate it is eſteemed unwholeſome, and is ſaid to produce fluxes. Beſides the fruits already enumerated, there are many other vegetables; ſuch as water-melons, dandelion, creeping purſlain, mint, ſcurvy-graſs, and ſorrel; all of them highly acceptable to men long cooped up at ſea, and ſinking under that loathſome diſeaſe the ſcurvy. There are plenty of fiſh upon the coaſt, but ſo luſcious that they are thought unwholeſome. But it muſt not be forgot, that near the centre of the iſland there are two conſiderable pieces of freſh water, which abound with ducks, teal, and curlew. The whiſtling-plover are alſo to be found there in prodigious plenty. Theſe pieces of water, in conjunction with wells and ſprings, which are every-where to be found, or ſunk with little difficulty, make ſome amends for the want of rivulets, which are ſo common in Guam, and which, with all its beauties and bleſſings, it muſt be owned, are not ſeen in Tinian[r].

Some inconveniencies and defects in this celebrated iſland.

It muſt however be admitted, that the having no ſuch running ſtreams, is, in many reſpects, a very material defect; and there is another inconvenience, which, though of leſs conſequence, is rather more troubleſome; namely, the ſwarms of muſketoes, and other kinds of flies; and, which is yet worſe, a ſort of tick, which not only infeſt cattle, but will alſo thruſt itſelf into the ſkins of men, and thereby create, if not a dangerous, yet a painful inflammation. The centipedes and ſcorpions have likewiſe been found there; and it is not impoſſible that there may be other venomous creatures.

The greateſt is the want of a ſafe road in all ſeaſons of the year.

But the moſt important and formidable exception to this place remains ſtill to be mentioned; this is the little

[r] Lord Anſon's Voyage round the World, p. 417, 418. Dampier's Voyages, vol. i. p. 296. Mr. Paſcoe Thomas's Journal, &c. p. 167.

ſecurity

security there is, at some seasons, for a ship at anchor. The only proper anchoring-place for ships of burden is at the south-west end of the island: the bottom of this road is full of sharp-pointed coral rocks, which, during four months of the year, that is, from the middle of June to the middle of October, render it a very unsafe place to lie in. This is the season of the western monsoons; when near the full and change of the moon, but more particularly at the change, the wind is usually variable all round the compass, and seldom fails to blow with such fury, that the stoutest cables are not to be depended on: what adds to the danger at these times, is the excessive rapidity of the tide of flood, which sets to the south-east, between this island and that of Aguiguan, a small island which we have already mentioned, near the southern extremity of Tinian. This tide runs at first with a vast head, and overfall of water, and occasions such a hollow and over-grown sea, as is scarcely to be conceived. Those who lie here in this season must be under the dreadful apprehension of being pooped by it, though in a sixty-gun ship. In the remaining eight months of the year, that is, from the middle of October to the middle of June, there is a constant season of settled weather, when, if the cables are but well armed, there is scarcely any danger of their being so much as rubbed; so that during all that interval, it is as secure a road as could be wished for. To this it is proper to add, that the anchoring-bank is very shelving, and stretches along the south-west end of the island; and that it is entirely free from shoals, except a reef of rocks, which is visible, and lies about half a mile from the shore, and affords a narrow passage into a small sandy bay, which is the only place where boats can possibly land [s].

The island of Saypan. Saypan, or the isle of St. Joseph, lies in the latitude of 15 deg. 20 min. at the distance of nine or ten miles from Tinian, and is about twenty miles in circumference; on the west side of this island, at the bottom of a steep bay, well sheltered with wood, lies a safe and commodious port, called Cantanhitda [t]. After Guam, this is the largest, and was formerly the best peopled of all these islands, and was not thoroughly subdued by the Spaniards till the beginning of the current century. The country is diversified with hills and plains, looks very green and pleasant at a

[s] Lord Anson's Voyage, p. 423, 424. Mr. Pascoe Thomas's Journal, &c. p. 163, 164. [t] Memoire du Pere Louis de Morales. Pere Gobien Histoire des Isles Marianes, p. 304.

distance,

distance, and is no less beautiful when examined more at leisure, as it affords all the necessaries of life in the utmost plenty, and is blessed with a fertile soil and a serene climate.

Description of the remaining part of the islands in this archipelago.

Anatajan, or the island of St. Joachim, lies in the latitude of 17 deg. 20 min. and is about thirty miles in compass. This is the first of those called the Northern Isles, and lies somewhat more than a hundred miles distant from Saypan, Sarigan, or St. Charles's Island, in the latitude of 17 deg. 35 min. about twelve miles in compass, and about nine distant from the last mentioned island[u]. Guguan, or the isle of St. Philip, lies in the latitude of 17 deg. 45 min. eighteen miles distant from Sarigan, and about nine miles in compass[w]. Alamagan, or the island of the Conception, in the latitude of 18 deg. 10 min. about ten miles from Guguan, and eighteen miles in compass. Pagon, or St. Ignatius's island, in the latitude of 19 deg. thirty miles from Alamagan, and about forty in compass[x]. Agrigan, or the isle of St. Francis Xavier, in the latitude of 19 deg. 4 min. a large mountainous island, fifty miles in circumference, remarkable for its volcano. We are informed by an author of credit, that it is well inhabited, and that formerly the inhabitants of this, as well as of the rest of these islands, put to sea in their prows, in order to carry provisions and refreshments to any ships they could discern; but that an insolent Spaniard having maltreated some of them, they never afterwards went out to meet the galleons[y].

The three most northern isles.

Assonsong, or the island of Assumption (in which there is also a volcano) lies in the latitude of 20 deg. 15 min. about eighteen miles in circumference, and lying twenty leagues north from Agrigan[z]. Maug, or Tunas, called also the island of St. Lawrence, composed of three rocks, somewhat more than twenty miles in compass, lying in the latitude of 20 deg. 35 min. about fifteen miles from Assonsong; and much about the same distance north, lies Urrica, or Urac, the last of these islands, which it does not appear was ever inhabited, and of which therefore we meet with no particular description.

[u] Memoire du Pere Louis de Morales. [w] Du Bois Geographie Moderne, p. 701. [x] Pere le Gobien Histoire des Isles Marianes, p. 306. [y] Giro del Mondo del Dottor Giovan, Francisco, Gemelli Carreri, p. v. [z] Memoire du Pere Louis de Morales. Pere le Gobien Histoire des Isles Marianes, p. 306.

The climate and soil of the Marianne islands in general.

These islands lie in the torrid zone; and yet so much is the heat of the sun tempered by the humidity of the air, and by the breezes of the sea, that the climate is, generally speaking, equally serene, salubrious, and pleasant; only in some seasons of the year they are liable to hurricanes, which, though they do sometimes a great deal of mischief, yet clear and refresh the air, in such a manner, that before they were visited by the Europeans, the people commonly lived beyond the age of a hundred, without being disturbed with sickness or infirmities. For the most ancient Spanish writers speak of these islands as mean, barren, contemptible places; and indeed it is apparent, that they would be understood to have thought them so, since, as they allege, their government took near a century to consider whether they should keep them or not. In order to comprehend this assertion clearly, and to reconcile it with what has been already said, it is necessary to lay open the nakedness of these miserable isles, and to acknowlege, that, with the finest sun and the most fertile soil, they afford not either precious stones or metals. However, this mean barren country produced fruits, sallads, and a variety of wholesome herbs, and in the greatest plenty. Beasts they had none, and but one kind of birds, not unlike the turtle-dove. There were indeed fish of many different kinds in their rivers, and upon their coasts; but whether they eat them or not is doubtful.

An account of the persons, inclinations, and faculties of the inhabitants.

The inhabitants are tall, robust, and very active; of a dark colour, yet not quite so dark as the inhabitants of the Philippines; coarse features, and rather hard-favoured. The men went entirely naked, the women only concealing what natural modesty teaches should be concealed. Both sexes endowed by nature with strong parts, which, however, seldom taught them to correct their passions. Quick in apprehension, not deficient in understanding; extremely fond of pleasure, not unacquainted with virtue, but very little inclined to practise it. Lust, dissimulation, and revenge, as the missionaries say, were their prevailing vices; to gratify which they very seldom stuck at any thing.

Without religion, and yet exceedingly given to superstition.

They may be said to have no religion; and yet they were over-run with superstition. The had scarce any notion of the Deity, but had a very distinct idea of the devil. They very firmly believed the immortality of the soul; and, though they had no conceptions of rewards and punishments after death, yet they were thoroughly persuaded that there was a place of happiness, and another of torment. They had no proper name for the former, which they

they fancied to be under the earth, describing it as a delicious garden, full of lofty cocoa-trees, abounding with rich fruits, and watered by pleasant rivers, running through flowery vales that exhale the richest odours. The latter they called Zazarraguan, or the *House of Chayfi*; that is, the demon who they believed afflicted the souls that fell into his power with variety of tortures. They did not ascribe this punishment to the crimes they had committed, but imagined that every one who died a natural death went immediately to paradise, and that such as were cut off by violence, were doomed to the house of Chasi [a]. When their friends or relations were dying, they stood with a neat little basket on one side of them, and desired that the soul would be pleased to repose there whenever it came to make them a visit. Those of the better sort filled these baskets with fragrant herbs, and rubbed them with odoriferous oils, carrying them sometimes into pleasant places, and at others to the houses of their friends; and sometimes left them there, supposing that the souls might be delighted with this change of habitation. All these marks of respect did not proceed so much from reverence and affection, as from terror and apprehension; for they imagined that the anitis, so in their language they styled these departed spirits, appeared to, and mal-treated them, disturbing them, more especially in their dreams; and therefore at certain seasons they fasted, and took other methods to appease them [b].

Without government, and yet having a race of nobles excessively proud.

As they are superstitious without religion, so no people in the world are so transported with notions of nobility of blood, without having either authority or government. There are amongst them three kinds of people; the chamorris, or *noblemen*, the middle, and the common sort of men. The first of them have a kind of estates upon which they live; but they have no tenants, vassals, or domestics. They have great respect shewn them; in their public councils, their speeches are heard with silence and attention; but notwithstanding this, every other man was likewise heard, and that advice was likewise followed which the majority thought best. A chamorris has something elevated and noble, not only in his look and in his person, but in his behaviour and manner; for usage in all countries establishes politeness, and the usual compliment

[a] Pere le Gobien Histoire des Isles Marianes, p. 65, 66. [b] Du Bois Geographie Moderne, p. 702. Pere le Gobien Histoire des Isles Marianes, p. 67, 68.

among them is, ali arinmo, *suffer me to kiss your feet* They never converse with ordinary people; on the contrary, if such eat or drink in their houses, they look upon them as polluted [c]. If at any time they are under a necessity of speaking to persons beneath them, they stand at a great distance, deliver themselves very succinctly, and with a loud voice. If a chamorris marries into a common family, it is held such a dishonour to the whole body of the nobility, as can be atoned for only by his blood. Yet, with all their delicacy about marriage, their estates do not descend to their children, but to their nephews, either by their brothers or sisters. There is no form of rule amongst them, nor any kind of authority but what is acquired by persuasion, which goes as far, and lasts as long as superior eloquence can carry or maintain it. Whatever notion, therefore, these people may entertain of freedom, this is certain, that they carry practical liberty as far as it is possible.

The singular manners, strange fables, and ridiculous vanity of these people.

It is a point not hitherto decided, from whom these people are descended, or whence they came; but from the affinity of their language with the Tagalese, of which we have spoken already, some have thought it probable, that they were of the same stock with the inhabitants of the Philippines; others, from their love of freedom, the haughtiness of their spirits, and their high notions of nobility, have inclined to think them a-kin to the Japanese. It is possible that the chamorris may be of the one country, and the rest of the nation of the other. They have poets among them who are extremely admired, and who, in their songs, celebrate the great actions of their ancestors, and amuse the poor people with fond notions, not only of their excellence in bodily strength and agility, but also of their superiority in science, over all nations in the world [d]. They make them believe that the first man was formed out of the earth of the island of Guam; that he was afterwards turned into a stone, and this stone being broke to pieces, and scattered over the rest of the world, there sprung up from thence all the rest of mankind. They have another sort of people amongst them called macanas, *wise men*; like the magi amongst the Persians, they direct them in their superstitions; teach them how to sooth the anitis; know the virtues of different herbs, and practise a kind of surgery. But still all depends upon per-

[c] Histoire des Isles Marianes, p. 49, 50.

[d] Relation des Isles Philippines, p. 13.

suasion;

ſuaſion; ſo long as they can pleaſe and delight, ſo long they are obeyed; for every man, from the hour he can ſupply his own wants, is maſter of himſelf, and abſolutely independent. Yet this very wiſe and knowing nation had not ſo much as the idea of fire, till they were taught it to their coſt, by the Spaniards burning their houſes, and then they took it for an animal that fed upon wood [e].

Their women endowed with ſurpriſing faculties, which gain them a great and conſtant ſuperiority over the men.

In theſe iſlands the women have all the graces of the ſex in their perſons and their manners. Their features are ſoft and regular, their complexions clear; they have an eaſy addreſs, a chearful humour, and are as much devoted to eaſe and diverſions as in the politeſt countries on the globe. They have their aſſemblies, as well as the men, in which they amuſe themſelves with reciting the performances of their poets, in a manner perfectly peculiar to themſelves. For caſting themſelves into a circle of ten or a dozen, they ſpeak, or rather chant, all at once, and yet ſo diſtinctly, with ſuch harmony, and with ſo fine a cadence, as appears equally ſurpriſing and ſatisfactory, even to Europeans. On ſuch occaſions they are adorned with little ſhells, and pieces of tortoiſe-ſhell hanging on their foreheads, with girdles of the ſame ſhells interwoven with flowers of different colours, and little cocoa-nuts neatly engraven [f]. They commonly wear only a piece of mat for modeſty's ſake, in which particular they ſurpaſs the men, who go abſolutely naked; but at theſe aſſemblies they wear an entire garment made of twigs and roots, which diſfigures them extremely; for it makes them look as if each of them was in a cage, and yet they move in them with agility enough; dance with ſhells between their fingers, as the Spaniards do with caſtenets, and accompany the poems they ſing, with ſuch a variety of action, that they may be eſteemed a kind of pantomimes [g].

The unreaſonable privileges the women enjoy in a ſtate of marriage.

In conſequence of theſe ſuperior accompliſhments, the ſex have a more abſolute dominion here than almoſt any where elſe. It is true a man may marry as many wives as he pleaſes, provided they are not relations; but this ſeeming privilege ſignifies little, ſince, as the effect of their labour would not produce a competent maintenance for more, they are glad to be content with one. We have before obſerved, that in theſe iſlands every man was maſter of himſelf, but not of any other man. From the mo-

[e] Du Bois Geographie Moderne, p. 703. Gobien Hiſtoire des Iſles Marianes, p. 58, 59.

[f] Pere le Go-

[g] Du Bois Geographie Moderne, p. 702.

ment he marries, half his little authority is taken away; for the wife commands every thing within doors, and her husband too, so long as he is there. If he gives her any reason to be jealous, she is at liberty to punish him in such a manner as to prevent any future suspicion. If he is lazy, passionate, or sullen; his wife takes the other married women in the neighbourhood to her assistance, who, armed with their husbands' spears, come and punish the delinquent, by destroying his plantation, or perhaps his house; and even his person is not in safety, if he falls into the hands of these enraged females [h]. The wife is also at liberty, in case she is offended, to retire to her own relations, who are glad of such an opportunity of plundering their neighbour, under pretence of punishing him. If she is of a milder disposition, she may leave her husband without assigning any other cause than that she is weary of him. He may also leave her, or rather oblige her to quit him; but then she takes with her the best part of his substance and his children; so that a man by letting slip a hasty word, loses both family and fortune in an instant, and sees them perhaps conveyed to the house of his neighbour the next day. In case a woman is false to her husband's bed, he may revenge himself as he pleases on her lover, and even put him to death; but unless he has a mind to be left alone, he must take care not to express the least resentment towards her [i].

From the consideration of this, many refrain from marriage, and lead a debauched and profligate course of life.

From a sense of the trouble and inconveniency attending the married state under these circumstances, many of the young men ran into a profligate kind of life, from which they were seldom reclaimed. They corrupted young women by presents; or, if the parents were poor, bought them, while they were yet children, and placing these in a house common to themselves and their companions, preferred to a regular œconomy these kind of public stews. This dissolute sort of life prevailed very much before the Spaniards came amongst them, by corrupting their minds, and enervating their strength, rendered them ripe for those calamities which afterwards fell upon them. It is true, by the wiser and better part of the nation these men were held in the greatest abhorrence. However, as their number was always great enough to furnish conversation amongst themselves; and as the genius of the people is strongly bent to pleasure, they were not to be restrained

[h] Du Bois Geographie Moderne, p. 702. [i] Pere le Gobien Histoire des Isles Marianes, p. 61.

by

by any sense of shame; and in the more distant islands, and even in the mountains of the island of Guam, where the people still enjoy their liberty, these sort of associations are still frequent enough; and it is chiefly from the bad behaviour of these debauchees, that authors have represented the inhabitants of the Marianne islands, in general, in a worse point of view than they deserved.

Account of their houses, furniture, utensils, and other domestic concerns.

Their houses were built with palm-trees, and such other timber as their respective islands afforded. Every house, was, generally speaking, divided into four apartments, by a kind of mats, made of the filaments of leaves, roots, and twigs of trees, and the covering was commonly of the same material, but of a coarser kind. Each of these apartments was destined to a particular purpose; they slept in one, they eat in another, they laid up their fruit and provisions in the third, and they worked in the fourth. Their utensils were not many, but every thing they had was neat in its kind, and carried in it marks of genius, by which they supplied many things that more civilized nations derive from experience. As to defensive weapons, they had none; they had no idea of bows, arrows, swords, or indeed any other instrument of violence, but a lance or javelin, made of a tough strong wood, and pointed with human bones [k]. These and stones were their only weapons; and though they had not, before been taught by the Spaniards, the use of slings, yet they threw them with great dexterity, and with such surprising force, as to enter into the bodies of trees at a considerable distance [l].

Their military disposition.

As they had no policy of any kind, so every man revenged the wrongs he sustained in what manner he thought fit, and in like manner the inhabitants of one district, if they conceived themselves injured by those of another, commenced hostilities, and continued them till they had obtained satisfaction. In these wars fraud and cunning had a much greater share than courage or force. They laboured as much as in them lay to surprise and circumvent their enemies; and in the choice of ground, in making false attacks, and in laying ambuscades, they shewed equal address and patience, remaining sometimes for two whole days without provisions; but when they came to engage in earnest, their disputes was not either long or bloody. If one or two men were killed, and half

[k] Purchas's Pilgrim. p. 951. Capt. Cowley's Voyage round the World, p. 19. Du Bois Geographie Moderne, p. 703. [l] Pere le Gobien Histoire des Isles Marianes.

a score disabled, there was an end of the war; those who were defeated sending immediately ambassadors to make submission, and to settle terms of peace. In order to qualify themselves for martial exploits, the principal diversions among the men consisted in robust exercises, such as running, leaping, wrestling, pitching stones, and throwing lances at a mark [m].

Skill in mechanic arts.

They were likewise very dextrous in swimming and diving, to which they enured their children, as soon as they were able to walk, and thereby rendered them not only hardy and robust, but so accustomed to, and fearless of the water, that they were, in a manner, inhabitants of that element, at least in comparison of other men; and would bring up stones or fish, or whatever else they could perceive in the sea, from a great depth. Their ingenuity and mechanic genius was most conspicuous in the invention of that singular vessel called by our seamen the flying prow, which has been commended and admired by all, but chiefly by those whose skill in naval architecture enabled them to judge of it best (H). In these vessels, before

[m] Du Bois Geographie Moderne, p. 703.

(H) The flying prow, or proa, as some write it, is very justly considered as the most exact and finished piece of naval architecture which hitherto the world has seen. This prow being the best adapted that can be imagined to the nature of the seas and winds, in and by which she is to sail, certainly merits that character, and would be considered as a master-piece of art if made in the most civilized country, with the help of the best materials, and tools the most fitly adapted. But if we consider it as framed here under great defects in regard to the former, and without the assistance of any instrument made with iron, it becomes truly wonderful. These prows are of different sizes, especially in point of length; however, they may be taken at a medium at forty feet; but they are not above two feet in breadth. The body of this vessel is composed of two pieces, joined end-ways, and sewed together with bark, caulked, and otherwise secured by a natural bitumen, which is common in most of the islands. At the bottom the timber may be about two inches thick, which, in working her into shape, is reduced unto less than one. The depth at most about four feet. In the center stands a mast twenty-four feet high; she carries a triangular sail, fixed to a yard and boom, above twenty-seven feet every way. As all other vessels have their stems and sterns of different constructions, the prow, on the contrary, has them both alike, so that each serves indifferently

fore they had any acquaintance with the Europeans, they made conſiderable voyages from one iſland to another; and when overſet, ſhewed great preſence of mind in turning them, refitting, and getting again on board; ſo that, taking all circumſtances together, they might be eſteemed none of the worſt ſoldiers, and as briſk and bold ſeamen as any in this part of rhe world. They are likewiſe ſaid to have planted and cultivated their ground; but in what

differently for ſtem or ſtern, as they ſteer on different tacks; but, as other veſſels have both ſides alike, the conſtruction of the prow differs from them alſo in this reſpect; for though the windward bellies out like other boats, yet the lee-ſide is perfectly flat. In order to carry ſo great a ſail without danger of overſetting, ſhe has a frame laid out to windward, conſiſting commonly of three ſtrong beams, which reſts upon a log hollowed in the ſhape of a boat. This frame is about twelve feet in length, and the little boat about thirteen. We find this contrivance ſtyled an outleaguer, or out-rigger, and is well ſecured by two croſs-bars, and has alſo two braces from head and ſtern to keep it ſteady. There is likewiſe a thin plank on the very ſame ſide of the veſſel, upon which ſometimes an Indian ſits, and on which they likewiſe lay goods. One of theſe prows carries generally ſix or ſeven Indians, two placed at the head, two at the ſtern, who ſteer alternately with a paddle, according to the tack ſhe goes upon, the reſt being employed either in baling out the water which ſhe accidentally ſhips, or in ſetting and trimming the ſails. The maſt, yard, boom, and outrigger are made of bamboo, the ſails of matting, and very neat. When they have a mind to tack, they bear away a little to bring her ſtern up to the wind; then, by eaſing the halyard, and raiſing the yard, they lift it out of the ſocket in which it reſted, and carry it round the lee-ſide till it is falls into the ſocket at the other end of the boat; and the boom being ſhifted into a contrary ſituation, that which was before the head becomes the ſtern of the veſſel, and ſhe is trimmed upon the other tack. As all the iſlands of this archipelago lie nearly in a line from ſouth to north, and are within the limits of the trade-wind, it is evident that theſe veſſels, which ſail excellently on a wind, can run from one iſland to another, and back again only by turning the ſail, and without ever putting about. It is the ſmallneſs of their breadth, and the flatneſs of the lee ſide, which gives them this great advantage, which no veſſel can have that goes large; and this advantage conſiſts in going with as great, and ſometimes with greater velocity than the wind (1).

(1) Lord Anſon's Voyage round the World, p. 453—457.

manner,

manner, or with what kind of seeds, does not appear; for though they are now expert enough in this kind of cultivation, yet it manifestly appears that they have learned it from the Spaniards.

Some have laboured to justify them from the imputation of thieving.

According to some of the missionaries, Magellan did great wrong to these people, when he fixed upon their islands the appellation of Ladrones. The natives, say these missionaries, are so far from being of a thievish disposition, that they leave every thing open, without the least suspicion of each other, and without ever suffering by this seeming neglect. It is, however, worth observing, that it is no conclusive proof these people were not thieves, because they had no conception of theft. Other barbarous nations, as well as they, have respected property amongst themselves, and yet made no scruple of taking whatever came within their reach from strangers.

There seems to be also some contradiction in what they report of the fickleness and mutability of the natives in their temper, eagerly seeking things one minute, and rejecting them the next; and representing them at the same time as very deep dissemblers, concealing their resentments even for years, and taking sudden and surprising revenges as soon as suitable opportunities offered. Such descriptions are unnatural. Men of a fluttering and volatile disposition are very capable of duplicity, but not of studied dissimulation.

Pleasure the great object of their desires.

The missionaries are probably more in the right in representing pleasure as the great object these people had in view; for that is the natural object of mankind in general, and the great use of reason is to distinguish rightly in the choice of pleasures, and in adapting properly the means for their attainment. It is in this the great difference between uncivilized and civilized nations subsists. The former are less capable of making a true judgment of appearances, and, by hastily grasping at whatever they take to be pleasure, run themselves upon those evils, which, if they saw them, they would certainly avoid. This kind of ignorance, natural, and consequently inseparable from savages, is what better disciplined people, when they either see it with astonishment, or feel it to their cost, term barbarity; and therefore the first step towards doing any good with such men, is to teach them to reason right; and though this would be a much slower, it would be a much surer method of leading them to embrace the true religion; and it is certainly for want of this that so many of the missionaries, in these islands particularly,

larly, have become martyrs; for while they pleased themselves with making multitudes of converts, they in reality made very few Christians.

The first discovery of these islands by Ferdinand Magellan.

We come now to speak of the discovery of these islands, and to report the very few facts that constitute their history since they were discovered. Ferdinand Magellan, in that adventurous voyage in which he completed the design of the great Columbus, whose intention it was to reach the East Indies by a west course, arrived, after having been longer out of sight of any known land than ever any man had been before, amongst these islands, on the 6th day of March, 1521. He is said to have passed between an island lying towards the north-west and two others bearing south-west, one of which was higher and larger than the other; and there Magellan attempted to have gone on shore, but was prevented by a multitude of of canoes, or Indian prows, filled with people, who coming on board, stole every thing upon which they could lay their land. Upon this he changed his purpose of bringing his ships to an anchor, and, to gratify his own and his people's resentment, landed only with forty armed men, set fire to fifty houses, burnt some of their prows, killed seven of the inhabitants, and recovered one of his boats which they had carried away. It was from this accident that he stamped them with reproachful name of Las Islas de los Ladrones, in Latin, Insulæ Latronum, or *the Islands of Thieves*[n]. After this exploit he left them, and arrived in four days at Samal, generally supposed one of the Philippines.

His touching here by no means beneficial to the natives.

It is by no means clear to which of these islands this history belongs. It has, with great probability, been supposed, that the northern island was Saypan; and if so, then the island which felt the effects of his fury, must have been Tinian. We are assured, when the people were shot through and through with arrows, they drew them out of their bodies, and gazed at them with a curiosity that overcame the sense of pain, till they dropped down dead. What was no less singular, notwithstanding all that had happened, the people followed him out to sea with two hundred prows, and held up fish, and other things, as if they had still desired to barter with them. In some of these prows the Spaniards saw women

[n] G. Battista Ramusio Racolto delle Navigationi & Viaggi, tom. i. fol. 355. b. Purchas's Pilgrims, vol. i. book ii. chap. 4. p. 37. Eden's History of Travaile.

lamenting

lamenting and tearing their hair, as they supposed, for the loss of their husbands: and the short account given of these people in Magellan's voyage, agrees very exactly with what we have said more at large, and from thence, no doubt, the generality of writers have been led to the conclusion, that the islands de las Velas, and the islands de los Ladrones, are the same; which, however, when maturely considered, may, notwithstanding this concurrence of opinions, remain still a matter of some doubt [p], unless we very much enlarge the bounds of this archipelago in order to embrace them.

The small notice taken of them, during a long space of time, by the Spaniards.

This harsh treatment on so short an acquaintance must seem to be but an ill presage of what the inhabitants of these isles were to expect from their intercourse with the Europeans. We have seen at the beginning of this chapter the obstacles that, for a time, had prevented the Spaniards from improving that communication which they had opened between the East and West Indies, and which was the only cause of their visiting these islands, as it had been of their discovering them; and this accounts for their gaining so little knowlege, and taking so small notice of them during that interval, insomuch, that it is not very easy to find when they visited them next, or whether they considered them as places worthy the honour of being annexed to the Castilian empire [q]. The riches of the Moluccas had first tempted them to this route, and when the Spanish government consented to suspend their pretensions to these, and make so light of the informations they had received of the Philippines, we need not at all wonder that the Ladrones, without metals and without spices, were thought in a manner beneath their attention; and it is very remarkable that Argensola, who wrote, under the royal protection, the history of the Moluccas, though he gives us a succinct relation of Magellan's voyage, does not so much as mention the discovery of these islands [r]. It was really a misfortune to the Spaniards that their first discoveries proved so extremely rich, for it made them overlook all other advantages. So that they did not sufficiently attend to the connection of the different parts of their empire in the East and West Indies; and, at the

[p] La Historia General y Natural de las Indias, por el Capitain Gonçalo Hernandez de Oviedo. Cluverii, Introduct. in Universam Geographiam, lib. v. cap. 11. Pere le Gobien Histoire des Isles Marianes. [q] Antonio de Herrera Descripcion de las Indias Occidentales, cap. 27. [r] Argensola Conquista de las Islas Filippinas y Malucas, lib. i.

same

same time, wasted the vast wealth they drew from thence in grasping at dominions that could be of little or no use to them in Europe; which reasons will sufficiently account for the declension of the Spanish monarchy, at a time when universal empire was the aim of its monarchs, and for the accomplishment of which they seemed to have the propereſt means in their own hands.

The Spaniards, after some intermission, visit these isles in their passage to the Philippines.

After two-and-twenty years deliberation, the general, Don Ruy Lopez de Villa Lobes, was sent to take possession of those islands which Magellan had discovered, and to which his successor, Don Miguel Lopez de Legaspe, gave the name of the Philippines. They both touched at the Ladrones in their passage for refreshments, but without making any stay, or leaving any of their people behind them; and thus they became, and more especially the island of Guam, what it is still, a place of refreshment in the great run between the two Indies [s]. In 1568 a Spanish ship going to the Philippines with two companies of soldiers on board, some of the men landed on the isle of Guam, and began to traverse it in search of provisions. Amongst these was a youth about twenty, who, walking unarmed through a wood, met with a boy about fourteen who made up to the stranger, caressed him extremely, and at length, laying hold of him about the middle ran away with him laughing. The poor Spaniard struggled, but was afraid to cry out, apprehending that the savage would have killed him; however, the noise they made in passing through the wood brought four Spaniards armed, to see what was the matter. Upon this the boy quitted his prey, and fled through the wood with amazing swiftness. This circumstance shews that in their primitive state, and before they altered their manner of living, to imitate the Europeans, that these people had a prodigious strength and a surprising agility [t].

Singular instance of the barbarous customs that once prevailed amongst these people.

About five years afterwards, Don Martin Henriquez, viceroy of Mexico, directed the same captain Juan Lopez de Aguirre, who was going again to the Philippines, to seize some of the youths of this island, and to carry them with him, that being educated there, and taught the Spanish language, they might learn from them a more distinct account of the country than they had been able to procure. He executed the order he had received, and, amongst the youths that he then carried away, was the

[s] Colin. Hist. de las Philipinas, lib. i.

[t] Fragmens sur les Isles de Solomon, ap. Thevenot, tom. i.

very

very boy who had attempted to steal the Spaniard. When they came to Manilla they knew each other again, and became very good friends, when the savage very frankly told the soldier, that if he had succeeded in his design, his intention was, according to the custom of his country, to have knocked him on the head, then to have sucked out his brains, to have burnt his body, and drank the ashes in palm-wine; which, he said, was their way of interring their relations, and to have kept his bones to make heads for his lances [u]. These are circumstances of which the missionaries take no notice, because in all probability, these barbarous customs had been laid aside long before they came into these islands; or, if not, very industriously concealed.

Captain Thomas Cavendish arrives here in his famous expedition.

Our famous discoverer, captain Thomas Cavendish, was the first of our countrymen who visited these isles; for, as we shall shew in its proper place, sir Francis Drake's touching here, though universally affirmed, is either false, or very uncertain. The time of captain Cavendish's arrival was on the 3d of January, 1588, having traversed the Pacific sea in forty-five days; and passed in that space, according to his computation, eighteen hundred leagues. He arrived about two in the afternoon upon the coast of Guam, and was presently surrounded by sixty or seventy Indian prows, full of people, bringing with them plantanes, cocoas, potatoes, and fresh fish which they had caught at sea. The method they took in exchanging, was to tie a piece of old iron to the end of a fishing line, or of a cord, which they threw into a prow, where the natives untying and taking away the iron, replaced it with some of the things they had [w]. But it seems they were more eager for iron than our people were for refreshments, since they followed them so long and pressed them so close, notwithstanding they ran down some of their prows, that at length the captain gave orders for firing upon them; however, they avoided the shot by dropping over board. Our people report them to have been of a tawny colour, large and fat with long black hair hanging down to the middle of their backs, or else tied in a knot upon the crown of their heads. They much admired their prows, or, as they style them, canoes; which, they say, were neatly made, considering they had no

[u] Churchill's Collection of Voyages, vol. iv. p. 673. [w] Purchas's Pilgrims, vol. i. book ii. chap. iv. p. 67. Sir William Monson's Naval Tracts, in Churchill's Collection.

sharper

ſharper tools than either flints or ſhells. They were no leſs ſtruck with their ſkill in navigating them, and with their boldneſs and agility in diving. Captain Cavendiſh continued his voyage from hence, as Magellan did, for the iſland of Samal, which he diſcovered on the 14th of January, being three hundred and ten leagues from the iſland of Guam [x].

Some farther particulars in relation to the manners of theſe people.

In the year 1596, one of the ſhips belonging to the ſquadron of the adelantado Alvaro de Mindana, who had ſailed from Peru to diſcover the iſlands of Solomon, arrived unexpectedly at Guam, and in a fragment of the account of that voyage, which is ſtill remaining, we have ſome very curious particulars relating to theſe people. The author tells us, that he ſaw ſome of their prows in which there was only one Indian; and though it had a maſt, ſail, yard, tackles, halliards, and helm, he ſteered with one hand, and with the other hoiſts, lowers, and trims his ſail, having one of the tacks faſtened to each foot, and ſo veers out, or hales to, as occaſion ſerves. Both ends are heads, and as ſoon as the ſail is ſlipt round, they make way without bringing about the veſſel. They are very ſwift, and when a wave breaks and fills it full of water, the man caſts himſelf into the water like a fiſh, overturns the boat, and clears it of all the water. The boat being clear, he gets in at one ſide, being come to ſhore, he takes his veſſel on his back, and leans it againſt a tree, on which he has his habitation, like a bird living upon the fiſh he takes. It is affirmed in this relation, that theſe people were idolaters, worſhipping the ſun, moon, ſtars, and even crocodiles and ſharks; that they ſacrifice to them, by putting their gifts into a prow, and ſending it out to ſea; that their houſes were built upon poſts or trees; that they laughed at money, but were exceedingly deſirous of iron, of which they made themſelves tools; that they firſt flayed and then burnt the bodies of their dead, preſerving their bones; that they drink the aſhes of the corpſe in palm-wine; and that on ſuch occaſions they hired mourners, who, if the deceaſed was a man of quality, ſung his praiſes for a week together; relating all his actions from his cradle to his grave; and if any of theſe were comical, the audience conſiſting of ſome hundreds, laughed; and if any terrifying accident was mentioned, they ſhrieked all together in the moſt frightful manner [y].

[x] Hakluyt's Voyages, vol. iii. p. 818.

[y] Churchill's Collection of Voyages, vol. iv. p. 673, 674.

In

In other respects, this narrative agrees with what we have already mentioned.

Arrival of the first Dutch ship that ever visited the Ladrones.

The first native of Holland that visited these isles was Olivier van Noord, with two ships under his command, on the 16th of September, 1599. They were immediately surrounded by a multitude of prows, full of the natives, who roared out *hiero, hiero!* that is *iron, iron!* the Dutch, who had seen captain Cavendish's account, followed his example, throwing iron tied to ropes into their canoes, and they returned baskets of fruit, roots, and rice. These Dutchmen thought Magellan was in the right in his sentiments as to these people; for, upon examining the baskets, which seemed to be full, and which were indeed very neatly made, they found nothing but shells, leaves, and a little rice sprinkled at the top. Some of these people, not satisfied with trafficking at a distance, came on board and laying hold of any bits of iron they could reach, they leaped into the sea with their purchase.

Find all things much in the condition that capt. Cavendish described them.

Those who remained on board, and had stolen nothing, saw all that passed with the greatest indifference that could be, eat and drank very readily whatever was set before them, and when they were satisfied leaped over board. To make a trial of their dexterity in diving, a Dutchman threw five pieces of iron one after another into the sea. One of the natives dropped after them, and having continued under water some time, brought up all five, and swam on board his prow. All that our countrymen had advanced concerning these people, as to their size and looks, as well as their uncommon strength of body, we find confirmed by the Dutch, who add, that both men and women seem to have no sense of modesty or shame. By this time there was one innovation had crept in, for the men had all their hair cropt; whereas the women wore their's long and flowing upon their shoulders [z]. The Dutch visited these islands afterwards very often, and sometimes careened their ships there, finding them very commodious for that purpose, at certain seasons of the year; and as yet the Indians were so far independent, that they shewed a like regard for all European nations; that is, they got from them as much iron as possible by every method, fair or foul, that they could devise.

[z] Recueil des Voyages qui ont servi a l'Etablissment, et aux Progrez de la Compagnie des Indes, tom. iii. p. 84. Sir William Monson's Naval Tracts, in Churchill's Collection.

It

It was near a century and a half, from the time of Magellan's discovery, before the Spaniards thought in earnest of taking possession, or making any kind of establishment in these islands. Their vessels touched there indeed annually in their voyages between the Indies; they had taught the inhabitants to sow rice and other grain, they gave them pulse, roots, and the seeds of different kinds of vegetables; they left fowls, hogs, and black cattle to breed; and it sometimes happened that some Spaniards were left either to recover their health, or to collect provisions against the arrival of their ships; but still the Indians retained their liberty, and their morals were not at all mended by their intercourse with the Europeans. On the contrary, they grew rather worse; for they imitated very readily the vices that they saw, and paid very little regard to the exhortations, that were but half understood, and which came from such of the missionaries as were passing from New Mexico to the Philippines, and who saw with regret a nation no way deficient in natural capacity, immersed in brutal pleasures, and wholly destitute of the light of religion [a].

How long the Spaniards took to deliberate whether they should make a regular settlement on these islands.

It was upon the application of some of these zealous missionaries that his catholic Majesty, Philip IV. had formed a design of sending over some fathers to preach the Gospel to these Indians. This project, which he did not live to complete, was executed by his dowager, Mary Anne of Austria, who governed the monarchy of Spain during the minority of Charles II. This pious design of her's was accomplished about the year 1668, notwithstanding some obstacles it met with from both the viceroys of Mexico and the Philippines, who, foreseeing that they should be made responsible for the success of these missions, and apprehending from thence an increase of trouble, were not very forward in executing the orders they received from court, to second the zeal of these ecclesiastics [b]. At length however, they were sent over, and left to take their fate amongst these savages, many of whom they converted after their manner, and transmitted very florid accounts of the progress of the gospel amongst the inhabitans of these, now styled from their patroness, the Marianne Islands. These accounts produced what

The missionaries apply to Spain for spiritual guides to convert the inhabitants of the Ladrones.

[a] Antonio de Herera Descripcion de las Indias Occidentales, cap. 27. Giro del Mondo del Dottor, Giovan, Francesco, Gemelli Carreri. Pere le Gobien Histoire des Isles Marianes, p. 5. [b] Du Bois Geographie Moderne, p. 702.

they expected, strict orders to the Spanish viceroys in the East and West Indies to give what assistance was in their power to so pious and salutary a work; which however, as one of the best and honestest of their own writers has observed, flourished much more while the missionaries depended upon their spiritual weapons, than when their preaching was afterwards supported by a military force [c].

Succession of Spanish governors.

Don Juan de Vagas Hurtado, going over in 1678, viceroy of the Philippines, touched at Guam, and at his departure appointed Don Juan Antonio de Solas governor of the Marianne Islands, with about thirty soldiers, and from this time we may date the Spanish dominion here; which however was but very feeble, their whole possession consisting only of a sorry village or two, and in each of these, the missionaries built a church. In 1681, Don Antonio de Seravia, was appointed by the royal authority governor of these islands, independent either of the viceroy of the Philippines or Mexico. He began speedily to exert his authority, and persuaded many of the Indians to acknowlege themselves subjects to the crown of Spain [d]. He was succeeded, in 1683, by Don Damian de Esplana, who was assisted by Don Joseph de Quiroga, and now it was thought necessary to construct a fort for the security of the settlement. During this space the missionaries visited several other islands with which the Spaniards were little, if at all, acquainted before; and where, though they made many converts, yet they met with much opposition. Some of the nobles whom they had converted, apostatizing, excited the people to stick to their old customs, and employed that natural eloquence, for which they were so famous, to ridicule the new doctrines, and the new customs which these strangers had introduced. The missionaries say, and very probably with truth, that those dissolute people, who affected a community of women, were the chief authors of those disputes. But however that matter may be, these disorders went on increasing, till at length they ended in a general revolt; by which the Spanish settlement, though grown much more considerable than it was, ran no small risque of being totally subverted: for, notwithstanding the great inequality of their arms, the advantages which the natives derive from their cunning as well as from their numbers, enabled them to carry on the

[c] D. F. Navarette Tratados Historicos de la Monarchia de China, liv. vi. chap. 32.

[d] Pere le Gobien Histoire des Isles Marianes, p. 292.

war

war with vigour, at the same time that many of the fathers were assassinated, and put to the most cruel deaths. By which acts of violence on both sides, such an animosity was kindled between the two nations (for as yet the Indians might be styled a nation) as could not afterwards be extinguished [e].

Captain Eaton, an English buccaneer, arrives at Guam.

It was about the middle of March, in this year, that captain Eaton, in an English ship of force, visited this island, and found all things in the utmost disorder. The governor sent to know who he was, a question captain Eaton did not care to answer; he pretended therefore, that his was a French ship fitted out for discovery, and in that light he was very well received, supplied with every thing he wanted on moderate terms, and many acts of friendship and reciprocal presents passed between him and the governor. The accounts we have in this voyage agree in all respects with those we have from the missionaries. The natives treated his people sometimes ill, sometimes well, according as they were stronger or weaker; and, upon captain Eaton's making some excuses to the governor, on account of three or four that were killed in a fray, in which he affirmed that they were altogether in the wrong, the governor told him he did not doubt it, and that he could not do him a greater pleasure that to kill as many as he pleased; for that they were a subtle, mischievous, cruel people, who kept no terms with any body, and with whom no terms ought to be kept. At his request captain Eaton spared him four barrels of gunpowder; which, in all probability, prevented the Spaniards from being driven out of the island. Their whole intercourse, from first to last, was managed with the utmost civility and candour on both sides; and they parted good friends, without the least coolness or suspicion on either side.

The natives offer him the island.

The wild natives, on the other hand, acted as if they had intended to make good the character the Spaniards had given them. Sometimes they associated with, and were extremely kind to the English, whom they assisted in hunting and fishing; but whenever they had, or thought they had, a favourable opportunity, they fell upon them, and endeavoured to destroy them, so that several bloody frays ensued. However, in a very little time, they came to

[e] Captain Cowley's Voyage round the World, p. 17. Dampier's Voyage, vol. i. p. 300, 301. Pere le Gobien Histoire des Isles Marianes, p. 308, 309.

traffick with them again, as if nothing had happened, and broke their faith again, as soon as they were trusted. Before captain Eaton went away, they sent some of their principal persons to aquaint him that the best part of their countrymen had quitted the island, and were gone to another, which was true; that they were resolved to throw off the yoke of the Spaniards, and if he would assist them in this enterprize, they were content to receive him and his people for their masters; which proposition the captain rejected with indignation [f].

Pretences of the natives.

We learn from the missionaries, that this and other insurrections were entirely owing to the natural eloquence of some of their chamorris, who were continually declaming against the Spaniards, and the mischiefs they had brought upon them. This war subsisted for several years, and was not thoroughly extinguished till Don Joseph de Quiroga came to the government, who not only put an end to it, but reduced all the Marianne islands, north as well as south, about the year 1695 [g].

The Marianne islands now in a poor condition.

In the course of the present century things have gradually taken but an ill turn for the Spanish government here, insomuch, that we are assured some of the largest islands are no longer inhabited. On Tinian there is not a soul, except as they are sent occasionally to bring away provisions; and but three or four hundred upon Rota, where they cultivate fruit, rice, and garden-stuff, for the use of the Spanish garrison in Guam. We have no sort of certainty as to the state of the rest; and more especially of the northern islands, which possibly may be tolerably well peopled still, as lying at a greater distance from the Spanish settlement, and more out of the way of their annual ship [h]. We must observe, that most writers of voyages are to be read with great circumspection, and more especially many of the French, who, rather than appear ignorant of any thing, supply the defect of knowlege by a lively imagination, and give their own notions and conjectures as matters of fact. In this respect, our own and the Dutch authors are more to be depended upon; and though their accounts are somewhat drier, and their descriptions less entertaining, yet experience shews

[f] Captain Cowley's Voyage round the World, p. 17, & seq. Dampier's Voyage, vol. i. p. 301. [g] Pere le Gobien Histoire des Isles Marianes, p. 376. [h] Giro del Mondo del Dottor Giovan, Francesco, Gemelli Carreri. De la Barbinais le Gentil Tour du Monde, tom. i. p. 241. Lord Anson's Voyage, p. 450, 452.

that

that they are less exaggerated, and come much nearer the truth.

Present state of Guam, and of the Spanish settlement on that island.

In respect to the present state of things, there are, according to the latest Spanish accounts, about four thousand inhabitants in the whole island of Guam, of whom about a fourth part are said to live in the city of San Ignatio d' Agand, where the governor generally resides, and where the houses are represented as considerable, being built with stone and timber, and covered with tiles; a very uncommon fabric for these warm climates and savage countries. Besides this city, there are upon the island thirteen or fourteen villages. As this is a post of some consequence, on account of the refreshment it yields to the Manilla ship, there are two castles on the sea-shore; one is the castle of St. Angelo, which lies near the road where the Manilla ship usually anchors, and is but an insignificant fortress, mounting only five guns, eight pounders. The other is the castle of St. Lewis, which is north-east from St. Angelo, and four leagues distant, and is intended to protect a road where a small vessel anchors, which arrives here every other year from Manilla[i]. This fort mounts the same number of guns as the former; and, besides these forts, there is a battery of five pieces of cannon, on an eminence near the sea-shore. The Spanish troops employed on this island consist of three companies of foot, from forty to fifty men each, and this is the principal strength the governor has to depend on; for he cannot rely on any assistance from the Indian inhabitants, being generally upon ill terms with them; and so apprehensive of them, that he has debarred them the use of fire-arms or lances, that he might be the less in danger of feeling the effects of their resentment.

Keeping the natives low, and under subjection to the Spanish garrison.

Some writers attribute the gaining of these islands to the crown of Spain, to the missionaries, rather than to the civil power, and perhaps with reason; but then they may, with equal justice, attribute likewise to them the loss of these islands, by calling in the sword continually to their assistance; for, from the beginning of their missions here, as well as in the Philippines, the bulk of the people conceived an aversion, or a contempt for the religion which they taught, and multitudes of those whom they converted at first revolted afterwards, and, like all apostates, became

[i] Giro del Mondo del Dottor Giovan. Francesco, Gemelli Careri. Captain Cowley's Voyage round the World, p. 16. Dampier's Voyages, vol. i. p. 300, 301.

the bitterest enemies to that faith which they had professed [k]. It seems to be now generally understood, that the Spaniards have given over all thoughts of rendering the Marianne islands a province of consequence to their empire, and seem to circumscribe their views within the narrow plan of keeping Guam, as a post of communication between their possessions in the East and West Indies [l]. We apprehend the Spaniards have entirely mistaken their object, and that it would have been far more advantageous for them to have used their endeavours to cherish the inhabitants of these islands; to have cultivated them with the greatest care; and to have rendered them as fertile and populous as so favourable a climate, and so fine a soil would certainly have enabled them to do, if they had gone prudently and heartily about it.

The Marianne islands the natural barrier of the Spanish empire in both Indies, and with due care would have been invincible.

In the first place, they ought to have considered it as the common barrier of their empire in Asia and America, placed there by the hand of nature, and of consequence capable of turning highly to their advantage, or much to their detriment. These countries were such as offered all the comforts, and with them all the conveniencies and pleasures of life. If, instead of a handful of starved soldiers, one or two hundred white families had been transported thither early from Mexico, and proper provision made for them in the island of Guam, which, in comparison of the benefits bestowed, might have been done at an inconsiderable expence, they would in the space of half a century have become, in comparison of the country they inhabited, a nation; and if the Indians had been kindly treated, they would willingly have sheltered themselves under their protection, and imitated their manners. As to those who might have been so obstinate, so flagitious, or so mutable in their dispositions, as not to be won or not to be kept by good usage, they would have quitted the island. When Guam was once thoroughly settled, a colony might have been sent, without hazard, from thence to Tinian, or any other of the larger islands, and settled in such a manner as not to be in any danger from the natives, who ought never to have been deprived of their liberty, but left to discover the disadvantages of it by the comparison of their own wretched condition, with the easy cir-

[k] Pere le Gobien Histoire des Isles Marianes, p. 139, 140. [l] Antonio de Herera Descripcion de las Indias Occidentales, cap. xxvii. Giro del Mondo del Dottor, Giovan, Francesco, Gemelli Carreri. De la Barbinais le Gentil Tour du Monde, vol. i. p. 214, 215.

circumstances

cumstances of the Spaniards, and of their countrymen, who had voluntarily fought their protection and adopted their manners [m].

How the missionaries might have been made extremely useful in the carrying on such a plan.

Their missionaries might then have been of great use in carrying such a plan into execution; and if, instead of baptizing them in a hurry, they had insisted on their living a certain number of years after a civilized manner, and behaving like honest men before they became Christians, baptizing however all who desired it, when dangerously ill, or at the point of death; this conduct would have gained subjects to the state, as well as members to the church; and if they had exacted a small tribute from those who lived according to their own customs, without harrassing or injuring them, and exempted them from all tribute, when they became Christians, trusted them with arms, and advanced them to small honours, civil and military, they would soon have had many thousands of good subjects, a multitude of sincere Christians, and consequently a great strength. If their nobility had been complimented with titles, and a little degree of power, it would have attached them to their benefactors; and they would have been sure to have employed their eloquence on the side of that government from which they derived such a real advantage. Wherever they had erected a church, they might also have established a town; and whether there are or are not good ports in these islands, they might, with a little management, have raised a great naval strength for that part of the world; considering the natural ingenuity of the inhabitants, and their turn for navigation, which, if it had only served to reduce these islands by degrees, and to have maintained a constant intercourse amongst them, when reduced, would have been productive of infinite benefit [n].

Might have been also made the centre of commerce between them.

These islands would have served for a nursery of soldiers and seamen, who might have been in many respects useful to the crown of Spain. For, in the first place, they lay much more conveniently for defending and succouring the Moluccas than even the Philippines. They would easily have prevented foreign nations from passing through the Pacific Ocean to the East Indies. They might have been made the magazine of Indian commodities from the Philippines, and the exchange of these for the wealth of Mexico and Peru, might have been regulated according to

[m] Pere le Gobien Histoire des Isles Marianes, liv. viii. p. 281.
[n] Lord Anson's Voyage, p. 453.

his catholic majesty's orders, by the government established in these islands, which could have no interests of its own, and the very want of mines and other natural riches in these isles, instead of being a defect, would have been a circumstance beneficial to the interest of Spain.

The great danger that the Spaniards might run if other nations should ever establish themselves upon any of these islands.

But supposing them ever so blind, as indeed they must have been to the singular and self-evident advantages which might have resulted from establishing a force in countries which, from their fertility, and the number of pople already in them, might have been so easily, and with so much certainty secured; one may with equal reason wonder that they had not their eyes open to the danger of other nations taking advantage of their supineness: for if a settlement had been made in one of the more distant islands, and those who made it had conducted their affairs with any tolerable degree of prudence and policy, they might have established themselves so effectually, even before the Spaniards were well apprized of it, as to have been in a condition to have resisted any strength they could have brought against them; more especially, if they had drawn the natives to their side, and had given them arms and encouragement to act against the common enemy. The want of good ports would have been an advantage to such a people; for, with a fort or two to command the roads, and a number of small vessels fit for cruising, they might maintain themselves, and at least disturb, if not entirely interrupt the communication between Manilla and Acapulco. The natives, as useless as they are to the Spaniards, might be made good subjects by a proper usage; and if they are dangerous enemies now, would be in that case much more formidable.

Some facts which shew that this is far from being impracticable.

When Sir Francis Drake and Captain Cavendish were in these seas, they might certainly, if they had thought fit, have seized and fortified any one of these islands; and though it may be true that this scheme did not, nor could not enter into their heads, yet accidents might have forced them to put it in execution: for had they been wrecked upon any of these islands, they could have had no other chance for preserving their lives and liberties, but by fortifying, associating with the natives, and endeavouring by their assistance to make themselves masters of the first Spanish vessel that came in their way. If we remember that Philip II. sent in all haste to build a city, and fortify the streights of Magellan, as soon as he knew that Drake had passed them, we may justly wonder the Spaniards entertained no apprehensions of these isles. The Dutch have

passed

passed the Marianne islands, not with single ships, but with fleets; and if they had left a body of men in one of them, they might have corresponded with and relieved them from the Moluccas: or accident might have led the buccaneers, as daring and enterprizing men as any that the world has seen, to have seized some of these islands for a retreat; and if they had, their companions, beyond doubt, would have resorted to them, and the consequences might have been just as fatal to the Spaniards, as a settlement of the same kind of people at Petit Guaves, to which the French owe their being masters of the best part of Hispaniola.

It is obvious that the Spaniards have mistaken their point.

At all events we are very certain of three things: first, that other nations, as well as the Spaniards, have often visited these islands, of which we have given many instances; secondly, that the Spaniards have been in no condition at any time to dispute with them, but on the contrary, have been forced to furnish them with refreshments; and thirdly, that if, instead of touching at Guam, they had gone to any of the other islands, they might have been long enough there to fortify themselves before the Spaniards had been in any condition to drive them out. These circumstances are more than sufficient thoroughly to establish the position we have laid down, that the Spaniards have not only neglected the manifest advantages they might have drawn from these islands, but have as little consulted their own security; from whence one would imagine they thought that, by being blind themselves, they should be able to close the eyes of all other nations; and in this respect, indeed, they have hitherto had very good luck, which has sometimes answered the end, and thereby passed upon the world for the most refined policy [o].

The plan on which the Spaniards act, in reference to the Marianne islands.

We mean not, however, to deny, that though the Spanish court and governors have thought fit to reject the maxims that seem to us right, they have substituted in their stead another plan of their own. We see plainly that they have, and we can determine from facts what the nature is of that plan. Their original design was to keep as few people, and at as small an expence as possible in the island of Guam, and not to trouble themselves with any of the rest; and to this they steadily adhered for a long series of years, till at length the missionaries, supported by the piety of their catholic majesties, forced

[o] Captain Cowley's Voyage round the World, p. 15. Dampier's Voyage, vol. i. p. 300. Lord Anson's Voyage, p. 437, 438.

them

them to abandon this method, and to suffer them to attempt the conversion of the Indians: but whatever they may be elsewhere, the Jesuits have not shewn themselves very able men here; and very possibly the reason is, that the country being poor, the zealous and the pious, not the shrewd and the sensible Jesuits, have addicted themselves to this mission; whence it has come to pass, that their converts have been lazy bigots, that have done little good to the colony, and a great deal of mischief to their own nation; from the consideration of this miscarriage the old plan has been revived, and by degrees carried into execution [p]. The governor relies on the little strength he has in their settlement on the single island of Guam, keeps the natives not immediately under his obedience, as poor, as low, and as defenceless as possible, and treats such as acknowledge his authority, not as subjects, but as slaves. His principal endeavour is to be able to command, upon any occasion, a sufficient stock of provision for the service of his colony, and of the annual ship: this, it seems, is thought the best use that can be made of the Marianne islands, the surest method of being safe from the resentment of the natives, and the best security that can be had against these islands falling into the hands of any other nation. This, from the facts we have collected from writers of all nations, at different times, and under circumstances that cannot deceive us, is the plan at present pursued, and which, for any thing we can perceive, is like to be pursued so long as Indians enough remain to enable their masters to keep this settlement [q].

But whether this manner of treating these isles and their inhabitants, be consistent with the dictates of humanity, the law of nature, or the moral doctrines of the Christian religion, we must leave to the equitable decision of the public, who are also the proper judges whether, even considered in a political light, this scheme of management will serve long to answer their purpose.

An Account of the Discoveries made to the Northward of the Ladrones.

Advantages arising from the possession of the Ladrones.

THE great design of colonies, considered in a political light, is the advantage of the mother country; which, without doubt, is a very lawful and laudable ob-

[p] Shelvock's Voyage round the World. Lord Anson's Voyage, p. 419. [q] Dampier's Voyage, vol. i. p 301.

ject;

ject; but all Christian princes and states profess at least a higher and more noble view, that of contributing to the happiness of mankind here and hereafter. If, therefore, colonies are slighted from politic motives, it must be because they lie at too great a distance, are very difficult to keep, and though kept, incapable of being so improved as to render a sufficient profit to their mother country, in proportion to the trouble and charge she may be at in keeping them. From these motives, it has been said, that the crown of Spain ought and would long ago have slighted the Ladrones, or Marianne islands, if they had not been restrained by Christian charity towards the natives. We have already shewn that there are good reasons to believe, that, strictly speaking, this is not the sole motive of their keeping them, but rather that of facilitating their correspondence with the Philippines, for which purpose they are absolutely necessary; and we have likewise pointed out the means by which they might have been made very useful and profitable in other respects. The design of this section is to prosecute that subject, and to prove this incontestibly from the great discoveries they have made to the northward, the still greater discoveries that might be made, and the advantages that, with a moral certainty, might be expected from these, which would render this archipelago as beneficial to Spain as any countries in her possession.

The Spaniards strongly tinctured with this spirit.

In the beginning of the sixteenth century they had very different notions in Spain from those that prevail at present, since, in the year 1525, Don Garcia de Loaysa was sent with a squadron of seven sail to the East Indies, by the streights of Magellan, with instructions to make the most particular observations in his power, in order to facilitate that navigation, and to render himself acquainted with the propereſt means of carrying it on, as well from Old Spain directly, as from the conquests already made in America. At his entering the South Seas from the streights of Magellan, a small vessel, that served him as an advice-boat, was separated from his fleet, and after running great hazards at sea, came at length into a port of New Spain, when the people on board were in great danger of starving. By this accident the famous Hernando Cortez, then the emperor's viceroy, came to have notice of this expedition, and of the purpose it was to answer; upon which he ordered a squadron to be fitted out as soon as possible, composed of new ships, which he had built in these parts, under the command of his nephew Alvaro de Saavedra,

Saavedra, who had orders to follow Don Garcia, and to make himself well acquainted with his discoveries; because Cortes looked upon the Moluccas, and all the countries between him and them, as belonging of right to his government (I). Thus we see, that at this time, they were not afraid, either in Spain or in the Indies, of pushing their discoveries with vigour, though the means of doing that, and of supporting them when done, were very small, more especially in comparison of the present state of things. Both these expeditions might be said to prove unfortunate. Don Garcia died in his passage, but Alvaro de Saavedra, after twice putting to sea with an intention to return to New Spain, died at the Moluccas [r].

[r] Discourse of Lopez Vaz concerning the Spanish Power in the Indies, in Hakluyt's Voyages, vol. iii. p. 778. Antonio de Herrera Descripcion de las Indias Occidentales.

(I) In order to understand clearly what is said in the text, as well as several other passages that follow, it will be necessary to put the reader in mind of what has been already mentioned, as to the lines of demarcation settled by the papal authority, in order to prevent any disputes from arising on account of the discoveries made by the subjects of Castile and Portugal. The first of these lines was drawn parallel to the first meridian at the distance of 30 deg. west, passing through Newfoundland, and by the mouth of the river Maranon, through the midst of Brazil. The other line was supposed to pass through the meridian of Malacca. These lines were the east and west boundaries of the Spanish discoveries, and the west and east boundaries to the Portuguese. Upon this principle Herreras, though he calls all that the Spaniards possessed in virtue of this papal grant, the Spanish West Indies, in opposition to the discoveries of the Portuguese, which were called the East Indies; yet, when he enters upon the description of the former, he gives us a new division which is very remarkable, and of which the reader will take particular notice. He styles all that the Spaniards possess in the north of the new world, from Quivira to Porto Bello, Las Indias del Norte, or the North Indies; all that they possess from Porto Bello to the streights of Magellan, Las Indias de Medio Dia, or the Southern Indies, which he says was in his time falsly called America; from whence we see that in those days that term was applied only to the south part of that great continent, the whole of which now passes under that name. The remainder, that is, all between the South Seas and the latter line of demarcation, he describes under the name of Las Indias del Poniente, or the West Indies.

However,

However, both these commanders discovered new islands in the vicinity of the Ladrones, and gave their countrymen the first hint that this archipelago was of considerable extent, and that it would turn to some account if they would examine the several islands of which it was composed. These advices were well received; for in those days there was a competition amongst the Spanish governors in America, who should most enlarge his province, or make the greatest discoveries.

The discoveries made to the northward by Villa Lobos,

But the most important discoveries, in reference to the islands lying north of the Ladrones, were made near twenty years afterwards, when the viceroy, Don Antonio de Mendoça, sent Ruy Lopez de Villa Lobos into these parts. He, sailing from the Philippines, in order to return to New Spain, discovered, almost under the tropic of Cancer, some islands, to which he gave the name of Malabrigos, that is, *the Bad Roads*; because the coasts about them were foul, and afforded them no anchorage[s]. Beyond these, he met with two fair islands lying almost close to each other, which, for this reason, he called Las dos Hermanas, or the *Two Sisters*; beyond them they saw four more islands, called, from the fiery mountains in them, Los Volcanos; in these it is said there is great plenty of fine cochineal. Beyond them, that is still farther to the east, they had sight of La Farfana, and beyond that a high pointed rock which threw out fire and smoke at five different vents. They saw likewise five or six islands more, to which they gave no names. The wind proving contrary, they resolved to return again to the Philippines, and, in their passage, met with a cluster of islands in about sixteen degrees north latitude; the inhabitants of which were white, the women handsome and well-dressed, with many ornaments of gold about them. These people had stout vessels, sixty feet long, and of a proportionable breadth, composed of planks five inches thick, and rowed with oars. These islands seem to have been to the north-west of the Ladrones; for the inhabitants told them, that they traded in these vessels to China, and made this voyage in a week. They likewise found other barks, very handsomely made, with two decks. On the upper deck were white people, well-dressed, and commodiously accommodated; on the lower

[s] Galvano's Discoveries, translated by R. Hackluyt. The Voyage of Francisco de Gualle, in Hackluyt's Collection, vol. ii. p. 442. See the Map in the original edition of Herrera.

deck

deck were blacks, by whom these vessels were rowed, at which circumstance the Spaniards were very much surprised; for at this time they had not the least conception of there being any Negroes in that part of the world[t]. It is surprising, but the fact is nevertheless true, that we meet with nothing more of this archipelago, nor are these islands laid down in any of the Spanish maps. It is, however, very probable from hence, and it will appear still more so from other circumstances hereafter to be mentioned, that there are many islands to the north, to the north-east, and to the north-west of the Ladrones, very well worth being visited, if the Spaniards had thought proper. But at this period they seem to have been hindered by the discovery of the Philippines, which was a much greater object, and consequently occupied their attention for many years.

After that great project was in some measure accomplished, this of prosecuting these northern discoveries, might have been also undertaken and perfected, if only two or three hundred children from ten to fifteen years old, had been removed from the Ladrones to the Philippines, educated there in the Christian religion, according to the customs of the Spaniards, in the knowlege of their language, without suffering them, however, to forget their own. They might then have been brought back to some of their own islands, and afterwards employed as seamen, under the direction of Spanish officers, in examining gradually these islands. If we suppose them only to have advanced as many degrees farther to the north as Guam, the most southern of these islands, is from Urac, which is the most northern, they could not fail of meeting with islands better inhabited and better improved than their own. By this method of making discoveries, they might, in a great measure, have spared their own people, and might have performed great things with small trouble, little risque, and hardly any expence. Their other colonies would not have suffered in the least by this conduct; on the contrary, whatever profits had attended these discoveries, might have been centred in the Ladrones, and from them might have been carried either to the Philippines or to America, and from thence to Europe. We shall presently see, that in islands under a higher latitude, and yet much within the reach of this method of discovery, the richest and most valuable commodities in the

[t] Antonio de Herrera Descripcion de las Indias Occidentales cap. xxvii. Galvano's Discoveries, translated by R. Hackluyt.

world

world are to be had in plenty[w]; and by making the Ladrones the magazine of these, through the labour and industry of its natives, they might easily have removed that reproach of poverty with which they have stigmatized these islands. As if a race of strong, active, ingenious people, naturally addicted to navigation, and capable, if properly instructed, of other arts, might not have proved the instruments of riches in the hands of a wife and well-judging nation; more especially, considering the happiness of their situation, with so many inviting prospects on every side.

Some of the richest countries in the world lie in the vicinity of the Ladrones.

The rich countries of Sapan are not more out of their reach than the Philippines; and though it be true that they would be now very unwelcome guests there, yet the case was not so always; and it may be, they might have afforded the Christians, their friends in those islands, some assistance, if they had used any diligence in their discoveries on this side; for they knew very well from the intelligence given them by the missionaries there, as by other channels, that there were many, and some very large islands, between the Ladrones and the islands of Japan; and if they had either made settlements, or so much as entertained any correspondence with their inhabitants, they might perhaps have enjoyed as much, or more, of the commerce of that empire, than by having an immediate correspondence with it[x]. Neither were the Spaniards at all times insensible or inattentive to this object; and from whatever motives they were led to desist from their endeavours, most certainly it did not arise from any apprehension of their being impracticable. It is more likely to have arisen from their contempt of all advantages but what proceeded from absolute conquest. The Portuguese, indeed, grew quickly in love with trade, and began to be softened by the manners of the East; but the same cannot be said of the Spaniards[y]. They maintain their national character in all climates, and affect to live no where unless they are acknowleged for masters. However, even this disposition need not have discouraged them; they might have found islands in which a settlement made by their subjects, under the protection of a good fort with a Spanish garrison, might have answered all their purposes effectually, and

[w] Dictionaire Universelle de Commerce, tom. ii. col. 892. Du Bois Geographie Moderne. [x] Antonio de Herrera Descripcion de las Indias Occidentales. Hackluyt's Collection of Voyages. Histoire de la Chine, par le P. Martin Martini, p. 163. [y] Galvano's Discoveries translated from the Portuguese, by R. Hackluyt.

fixed

fixed them in the possession of a commerce that might have been connected with the Philippines as easily as with the Ladrones [z].

An account of the islands Liquios, Lequeios, or Riuku.

To shew the certainty as well as the probability of what has been advanced, let us observe, that those islands, so famous amongst the first discoverers, and with the very names of which we are scarce acquainted, lie directly within their reach. These are the Liquios, the Lequeios, or, as some call them, the islands of Riuku, situated from the 26th to the 30th deg. of north latitude, and consequently but five degrees higher than the most northern of the Ladrones. The Liquios have the islands of Japan on the north, the continent of China on the west, the island of Formosa on the south-west, the Ladrones a little to the south-east, and the ocean, without any continent, for any thing we know, on the East [a]. They are an archipelago, consisting of many small islands, with two pretty large ones to the north, styled from thence the Great Liquios; and also two more considerable than the rest at the southern extremity, which are called the lesser Liquios. It is an established maxim with the Japanese, that these are the most fertile countries in the world; and if they are to be credited, the inhabitants reap annually two harvests from the same land. Their produce consists chiefly of rice, though, besides this, they have also other grain, with a great variety of excellent fruits, abundance of cattle, with some gold and rich perfumes. The inhabitants are esteemed the gayest, happiest, and easiest people on the globe; and this, notwithstanding they are subject at least to four, if not five masters. They have a sovereign of their own, styled the spiritual emperor of Japan, their Dairo; but whether he has a temporal lieutenant or not, is uncertain. They are likewise tributaries to the king of Saxhuma, one of the princes of Japan, to whom they pay a considerable sum annually, besides occasional presents to the emperor. They also collect an acknowlegement of considerable value every year as a testimony of their respect for the emperor of China [b]. It is indeed said, that many thousand Chinese took shelter here at the time of the last revolution, and are at present incorporated amongst the natives, whom, it is not unlikely, they have improved

[z] The Voyages of Francisco de Gualle, in Hackluyt's Collection, vol. ii. p. 442. [a] G. Battista Ramusio Racolto delle Navigationi et Viaggi, tom. i. fol. 369. Antonio de Herrera Descripcion de las Indias Occidentales. [b] Du Bois, Geographie Moderne.

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in agriculture, manufactures, and commerce; but, with reſpect to navigation, thoſe people, at the time that the Europeans entered the Indies, were thought ſuperior to the Chineſe, and were alſo the moſt candid and the moſt reſpected traders in the Eaſt, where the profeſſion of a merchant was always honourable, and where there are ſtill many who live with a degree of magnificence ſcarce inferior to princes.

The genius of this nation.

The great characteriſtic of theſe people is their love of tranquility, and their application to the arts of peace, by which, in the midſt of thoſe revolutions, that have not only diſturbed, but deſtroyed, in a greater or leſs degree, the nations round them, they have kept themſelves in pretty much the ſame ſituation, in the enjoyment of their own laws and cuſtoms, and in the exerciſe of navigation and commerce, which has ſupplied them with the means of defending themſelves from thoſe diſtreſſes which their more puiſſant, though more haughty neighbours, have ſeverely felt. The richneſs of their ſoil, and the mildneſs of their climate, inſtead of rendering them idle, has prompted them to improve to the utmoſt the bleſſings which nature has beſtowed [c]. Their fields are cultivated with the utmoſt care, and, according to their different natures, appropriated to different kinds of grain. When the harveſt is once over, they diſtinguiſh every ſort into fine, coarſe, and refuſe. Out of the firſt they ſupply themſelves for domeſtic uſes, and for exportation; the ſecond they moiſten and malt, of which they make a very pleaſant beer, called ſacki, which, however, is very apt to give the colic if drank cold. Of the third, or ſpoiled grain, they make what is ſtyled in their language awamuri, which is, in plain Engliſh, *malt ſpirits*; they are likewiſe very ſolicitous in cultivating their gardens, in which they have roots of all kinds, a great variety of pulſe, medicinal herbs, and very fine flowers. Their principal manufacture is that of ſilk, with different kinds of which they are all well clothed, and yet reſerve a conſiderable ſtock for exportation; mother of pearl and cowries, for which there is a great demand in Japan, where they grind down thoſe that are perfectly white into an impalpable powder, which is afterwards converted into a paint, and uſed by perſons of both ſexes. They have, beſides, another kind of ſhells, either naturally flat, or made ſo by

[c] P. Charlevoix Hiſtoire du Japon, vol. i. p. 6. 171.

art, which are used in Japan for glazing the windows of their houses [d].

Other islands may be discovered, the inhabitants of which may equal these in industry and plenty.

As the true characteristic of this nation is industry, they have probably found a way to pay their tributes to Japan and China out of the balance of their respective trades; for, besides the produce of their own islands, they carry the several commodities and manufactures reciprocally of Japan into China, and of China into Japan, by which they are great gainers; and perhaps much of the gold that is seen amongst them is the result of this traffick. If therefore the Spaniards could have fixed themselves here, as without question they might easily have done, European and American commodities would undoubtedly have been very welcome to these judicious traders, and, it may be, the Japanese would have taken them this way, notwithstanding all their prohibitions [e]. It is not at all improbable that other islands might be found between the Ladrones and the Liquios, not deficient in rich and valuable goods; and it is very well known that there are several clusters of small islands to the westward, between these and the continent of China, particularly those to which our buccaneers gave the name of the Bashee islands; in which there are gold, and some kind of spices, not to mention gums, and drugs for dying; so that we have advanced nothing chimerical, or without good grounds on this head of important discoveries in the vicinity of this archipelago, which has been so frequently treated, for want of due consideration, in a despicable light. Let us take the liberty to add, that if the missionaries had suggested something of this kind to the Spanish government, and had offered their service for the education of the Indian youth, in a manner that might have rendered them fit instruments for the execution of projects of this nature, they might have done a double service to the natives, and to their masters; and, by introducing a principle of industry and the love of arts, have awakened those latent seeds of civility and social qualities which those people must have retained, if there be any truth in the missionaries conjecture, that they are descended partly from the Japanese, and partly from the Tagalians; both nations endowed with great qualities, which however might be easily obscured, and in a manner lost, in the gradual barbarism that succeeded their banishment

[d] Antonio de Herrera Descripcion de las Indias Occidentales, cap. xxvi. P. Charlevoix Histoire de Japon, vol. ii. p. 470.
[e] Harris's Collection of Voyages, vol. i. p. 686.

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from their native seats, and their being entirely excluded from all converse with their countrymen.

The people of these islands might be instructed and rendered useful in discoveries by the missionaries.

There is another advantage which might be reasonably expected from their entering into a strict intercourse with the inhabitants of the Liquios, and that is gaining some knowlege of the concealed commerce of the East; for it is well enough known, though we are not able to enter into particulars, that as the Chinese, the Japanese, and the inhabitants of these islands, carried on a very extensive trade through the greatest part of the Indies, before the arrival of the Europeans, though the two last nations have relinquished it since, yet they either preserve other branches of trade, or have opened new ones to the north and west, especially with the islands that lie between Corea and Japan. There could therefore be no insurmountable difficulty in drawing from these people lights on this head, which we are not like to obtain any other way. If the Spaniards, or their missionaries, still retain the same zeal for propagating the Christian faith, this might prove a sufficient spur to their endeavours, as no method could be devised more likely than this to procure an entry into some of the dominions of Japan. In return also for any information they might receive, the missionaries themselves might impart to the inhabitants better notions than they can possibly have at present, in respect to astronomy, cosmography, and navigation; and, as they have naturally a turn to these sciences, they might be quickly put upon exercising any improvements they made, according to the directions, and in some degree for the benefit of their instructors.

The great advantages that would result from their having an haven in some island in a high northern latitude.

If by these, or by any other means, that such a correspondence is most likely to discover, they could find any island in a high latitude, capable of receiving, and affording refreshments, to the Manilla galleon, it would be an inexpressible advantage to that commerce, and save in the course of a few years, a number of lives equivalent to the people that might be necessary to the making such an establishment; from which many other advantages also, at which we are not so much as able to guess, might be derived. We may, however, take the liberty to add, that this would also facilitate a direct commerce between Mexico and China, which, however strange and chimerical it may appear to modern readers, was a thing not unattempted almost two hundred years ago; when, in virtue of their possession of the kingdom of Portugal, the Spaniards were masters of Macao; so that in respect to this we pro-

ceed upon the uncontroverted maxim, that what has been may be; and what this nation could do so many years past, they might still, with the help of greater advantages than they then had, be able to perform. We likewise know that in those, and in later voyages, islands that promised very fair, have been seen, particularly a very large one, in the latitude of somewhat more than thirty-seven degrees, which however no ship, in so long and hazardous a passage, will ever stay to examine; and, indeed, if the commanders were inclined to do it, they are so strictly tied down by their instructions, that it is entirely out of their power. But if, by such a method of gradual discoveries, any island fit for the purpose could be found, there is scarce any doubt that it would be a very welcome addition to their dominions, independent of the hopes they might receive of its resembling those islands abounding with silver, of which they have so many traditionary accounts [f].

It would enable them to know the certainty, as to a north-west passage.

They would then have it in their power, if upon mature deliberation they should think it for their advantage, to resolve with certainty what has been so long a problem, whether there is, or is not any north-west passage into the South Seas. It may possibly be doubted, and not altogether without foundation, whether such a discovery, supposing it practicable, would be acceptable or not to the Spaniards [g]. This must be left to them to determine; but thus much is certain, that they are better acquainted with it too, if we could depend upon a fact, advanced in some memoirs, that in 1609 a ship bound from Acapulco to the Philippines, was driven by a storm through that passage, and, after touching at some port in Ireland, arrived safe at Lisbon; where, by order of his Catholic Majesty, all the pilots journals were burnt, to prevent the discovery of that passage by other nations; which, if such a thing ever happened, might very probably be true [h]. At all events, however, it could not be detrimental to the crown of Spain to arrive at a certainty in this point; more especially as things are now so much changed, that possibly a new route might be considered in another light than it then was [i].

[f] Antonio de Herrera Descripcion de las Indias Occidentales, cap. xxviii. Sir William Monson's Naval Tracts, in Churchill's Collection. [g] Sir Humphry Gilbert's Discourse to prove a north-west passage, chap. vii. Purchas's Pilgrims, vol. iii. p. 849. [h] Mr Henry Hawke's Relation, addressed to R. Hakluyt. [i] Sir William Monson's Naval Tracts, in Churchill's Collection, vol. iii. p. 428, 429. 445.

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The Spaniards settled in America must also know whether the old reports of a correspondence between the Indians in the north-west part of America, behind California, with the inhabitants of Asia, or of the continents or islands between Asia or America, has any real foundation or not. This was once strongly believed, from arguments partly, and partly from authority, by the Spaniards, as well as other nations; and by the Spaniards in this part of the world as well as in Europe. It is indeed true, that this notion has been also contradicted as positively; and that of late years very little has been said about it. But uncertainty or silence conclude nothing as to the nature of the fact, or its importance [k]. The Spaniards, at least the Jesuits under their protection, had considerable missions in California and Quivira, who might easily have resolved this doubt; the resolution of which, when their concerns in the Indies are thoroughly understood, and attentively considered, must appear of great consequence to the court of Spain, for reasons that will be seen in their proper place. After being in possession of these countries for upwards of two centuries and a half, it is certainly high time to be thoroughly acquainted with every circumstance that relates to, and every advantage that can be drawn from them; for otherwise, such countries are rather discovered than possessed; if that possession consists only in holding them to little purpose; or rather with-holding them from others who might possess them to better purpose [l]. But this will appear still more preposterous, if we consider, that almost two centuries ago this humour of keeping without using, was condemned by the best judges of the Spanish interests in these parts; so that these are not notions either foreign to the subject, or incompatible with the genius of the Spanish nation; but, on the contrary, schemes advanced by their own writers, treated by them in a very masterly way, and insisted upon as absolutely requisite to connect the several parts of the Spanish Indies, and thereby complete that plan of empire opened by discovery, pursued by

The Spaniards do, or at least, may easily know whether any correspondence subsists between the northern Indians and any oriental nations.

[k] Historia natural y moral de las Indias en que se tratan las Causas notabiles del Cielo, y Elemenitos, Metales, Plantas, y Animales dellas, por el P. Joseph Acosta de la Compania de Jesus, 4to, en Sevilla, 1590, lib. ii. Fran. Lopez de Gomara Historia general de las Indias, cap. ccxiv. Hakluyt's Voyages, the original edition, p. 562. [l] Antonio de Herrera Descripcion de las Indias Occidentales, cap. xxvi. Voyage of Francisco de Gualle, in Hakluyt's Collection.

conqueſt, and to be maintained, eſtabliſhed, and completed by a wiſe and well conducted policy.

No leſs than four different ſchemes offered for opening a communication between the North and South Seas, ſoon after their diſcovery.

We find that no leſs than four different ſchemes had been offered for opening a paſſage from the North to the South Seas, excluſive of that by the ſtreights of Magellan, or of the north-weſt paſſage, if ſuch a paſſage there be. The great object of all theſe ſchemes, was the rendering the navigation practicable from Spain to the Philippines, without being expoſed to any of thoſe inconveniencies that had been experienced in paſſing the ſtreights of Magellan, and were ſuppoſed to incumber that by the north-weſt. All theſe ſchemes went clearly upon a ſuppoſition, that the true intereſt of the Spaniſh crown conſiſted in keeping up a cloſe and conſtant correſpondence between all her colonies, however ſituated; and alſo between theſe colonies and their mother-country. Thoſe who propoſed, and thoſe who ſupported theſe ſchemes, were convinced that this regular intercourſe was not only requiſite to the reciprocal welfare of the colonies, by enabling them to aſſiſt and enrich one another, and the moſt effectual means of keeping them well ſtocked with people; and thoſe people properly employed in expoſing their perſons, and exerting their faculties for their own emolument and the public ſervice; but likewiſe that this would turn moſt to the benefit of Spain, as by adopting any one of theſe ſchemes, the colonies would have been effectually ſecured from receiving the commodities or manufactures of Europe, otherwiſe than from, or by the permiſſion of, their mother-country; and, at the ſame time, all the rich products of the Eaſt as well as the Weſt Indies, muſt have been tranſported to Spain.

Schemes of this kind more for the intereſt of Spain, than an indolent excluſive poſſeſſion.

They conceived, and it is not eaſy to aſſign any competent motives why we ſhould ſo much as ſuſpect they conceived amiſs, that the eaſier and the ſafer theſe voyages between their diſtant colonies could be made, the cloſer and the more extenſive their correſpondence; the more a ſpirit of induſtry would be cheriſhed among the inhabitants, the greater wealth they would acquire, the more their commerce, and of courſe their naval power would flouriſh; and, of conſequence, the more lucrative that excluſive trade to which they were tied with Spain. Such was the original ſcheme of Spaniſh power in the Indies, calculated to ſecure, maintain, and extend itſelf; ſuch were the means contrived to keep alive that ſpirit by which theſe dominions had been acquired; and ſuch the method calculated for raiſing a force adequate to the preſervation and protec-

protection of these increasing conquests, out of the conquests themselves, and of obviating all the inconveniences that flow from a stagnation of wealth and power, by a continual and brisk circulation of both; finding such employment for the people and their rulers as might prevent their sinking into indolence and luxury, and drawing from their labours a suitable tribute to their mother-country, for the force originally imparted and all her occasional supplies [m]. This was certainly a practicable method of maintaining things in a flourishing condition, of answering all the purposes of prince and people, and maintaining, without decay, that vigour which had given rise to this amazing empire.

Proposal for fixing this commerce between Panama and Porto Bello, in consequence of which the Ladrones would become the magazine.

Of all these schemes that seemed to be the most eligible, which proposed bringing the ships from the East Indies to Panama, in the South Seas; from whence their lading might, without much trouble, be carried by a plain easy road of not more than four leagues, or twelve English miles to the river Chagre; and from thence on board large lighters to Nombre di Dios, or Porto Bello; whence, with the products of America, they might have been transported on board the galleons to Europe. By this scheme he supposed that many good purposes might be answered; the voyage between the two Indies performed in the shortest manner possible, by sailing almost all the way under the same degree of latitude, parallel to, and at a small distance from the equinoctial, through the Pacific Ocean, properly so called, in a short time, and with little hazard [n]. Besides, this would have created scarce any alteration in the established method; which, as we have more than once remarked, is a thing of great consequence, since the Spaniards have naturally an attachment to the routes once fixed, and are not easily drawn to venture upon any alterations, though the advantages derived from them should be ever so probable. If this scheme, which was both natural and practicable, had taken place, the improvement of the Ladrones, so as to have rendered them fit to have been made the magazines of the commodities of both the Indies, for the sake of shortening the passage, rendering the cor-

[m] Alonzo de Ovalle Relacion Historica del Reyne de Chile, lib. ii. cap. 4. Antonio de Herrera Descripcion de las Indias Occidentales, cap. xiii. Galvano's Discoveries. [n] Antonio de Herrera Descripcion de las Indias Occidentales, cap. xiv. La Historia General y Natural de las Indias, por el Capitan Gonçalo Hernandez de Oviedo, lib. ii. Fran. Lopez de Gomera Historia General de las Indias, p. ii. cap. 32.

respondence more certain and uniform, and preventing, as might have been easily done, any clandestine commerce, would have followed of course; and consequently must still follow, if, upon due reflection, any thing of this kind should ever be carried into execution; for it is impossible that the circumstances favourable to such a conveyance, should ever fall under mature consideration without producing this effect; and of course, there are very strong grounds to expect, that sooner or later this will happen; and this archipelago, at present so little attended to, become very suddenly the centre of as valuable a trade as any in the universe, merely from their commodious situation; which, however long neglected, is a benefit never to be lost, as there is no prescribing against the grants of nature [o].

But, after all, perhaps still greater advantages might arise, from pushing their discoveries to the north, to the north-west, and to the north-east; since there is a very high probability, indeed almost a certainty, that this would be attended with very beneficial consequences; and if the accumulated commerce from these places could be fixed to some convenient port on the continent to the north-west of New Mexico, it could not fail of drawing such a resort of people into that province, by the inviting prospect of growing very rich in a short time, as would enable them to cover effectually that frontier which is most exposed; as the French have long had their views on this side, and have taken some pains to make themselves well acquainted with this very subject; though hitherto not at all in a condition to embrace such an undertaking [p]. It is therefore of the highest importance to the Spaniards to provide for their own security in the proper season, by prosecuting their discoveries and settlements to the north and north-west; which, though otherwise very difficult, the prospect of such a trade would extremely facilitate.

[o] Antonio de Herrera Descripcion de las Indias Occidentales, cap. xxvii. Alonso de Ovalle Relacion Historica del Reyne de Chile, lib. ii. cap. 4. [p] Galvano's Discoveries. Fran. Lopez de Gomara Historia General de las Indias.

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The Discoveries that have been, or probably may be, made to the south-east or south-west of the Mariannes; the gradual Discovery of the Caroline Islands, or New Philippines; their Situation, Soil, Climate, Produce, and Inhabitants; the Appearance there is of many rich and valuable Commodities in these Isles; the Certainty of raising Spices of all Sorts in them; and the Advantages which would result from thence.

Discoveries to the South as practicable as to the North, and yet rather more neglected.

WE have asserted, and we hope we have also shewn, that great advantages might have arisen to the crown of Spain, from the possession of the Ladrones or Marianne islands, by the conveniency of their situation for making very important discoveries. It falls out notwithstanding, that though nothing could be well more obvious or apparent, yet almost all the discoveries that have been made since they were in possession of these islands, either to the north or to the south, have not been the effects so much of choice as of chance [q]. That their number has been greater on the north than towards the south, is very plainly owing to the routes the annual ship is forced to take in going to Acapulco, which, notwithstanding all the care they can use, varies very considerably almost every voyage; whereas, in going from Acapulco to Manilla, they bear down as near as may be to the latitude of Guam; and, meeting commonly a fair wind, continue their course in as direct a line as is possible. Indeed this has not been always the case; because, before this transit was established, they sailed from different ports of America for the Philippines; otherwise they would scarce have made any discoveries at all, as in fact, they have made but very few.

The very discoveries thus in a manner forced upon them, were attended with informations that ought to have excited curiosity; and certainly would have done it, if they had acted from those principles on which they first established their dominion in the East Indies: for the sight of islands, pleasantly situated, well inhabited, and in a good climate, might have deserved examination; since the richest countries are not always the most promising at first sight; and the smallest islands are sometimes found to be countries of great value. Besides, in these untraced parts of the globe, the knowlege of one country leads to the

[q] Galvano's Discoveries, translated by Hakluyt, lib. iii. Sir William Monson's Naval Tracts, lib. iv. Pere le Gobien Histoire des Isles Marianes, liv. x.

knowlege

knowlege of another, and the reward of discoveries, though it comes late, comes at last [r]. The small islands that were first seen and possessed by Columbus, were soon after slighted for the sake of better, to which he was led from the knowlege of these; but if he had given himself no farther trouble, or if he had measured the profits of the new world by the acquisitions made by his first voyage, where had been the Spanish empire in these parts at this day? Or why, since this principle of examining and enquiring, from as little encouragement, proved so fortunate and so glorious to him and the princes who employed him, ought so opposite a conduct to be pursued here, where possibly the like pains and diligence might be still more amply rewarded?

The islands lying directly south from the Ladrones, and when discovered.

Immediately to the south of the island of Guam, and between the degrees of 10 and 13 of north latitude, lie the islands of Ban, Bota, Saint Baravel, and the shoals of Santa Rosa. We have no description of any of these places; but it is highly probable, that the three first islands were those seen by Magellan, and consequently the first discovered, since they agree better with the circumstances of Pigafetta's description than the island of Guam, and those in its neighbourhood. What seems to confirm this opinion is, that the names of these islands occur in all the old lists of the Ladrones, in which we do not find Guam; and also in some catalogues we find the names of the northern islands likewise inserted; which shews that things have not always stood, even in the sentiments of the Spaniards, in the manner they do at present. If these were the islands first seen by Magellan, they were even in those days well peopled, and those people were not ignorant of the arts of navigation, or naval architecture; so that in process of time, and when things were settled and reduced into better order, there might have been grounds for prosecuting these discoveries farther, or, at least, for enquiring into the condition, manners, customs, and commerce of their inhabitants (K).

Amongst

[r] See Ramusio, Hakluyt, Thevenot.

(K) We have intimated more than once, that there are some points not clearly understood in the accounts we have of Magellan's voyage. It is expressly said, that from the Ladrones, which ever of them it was he saw, he continued his voyage to the little island of Zamal. This island from its nearness could be none of the Philippines. The next day he went on shore upon an uninhabited island, upon which he bestowed

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Amongst the islands to the south-east, we find laid down in the old maps Abreoso, which in the new charts are styled Islas de Abrosas; Mira Como Vas, which is as much as to say, *take care how you move*; these are laid down as three pretty considerable islands, with shoals about them. Quita Sueno, that is, *leave your sleep*; La Poblado, or, *the well-peopled island.* Most of these are left out in the new charts, in some of which we find others inserted; such the name of Buenos Senales, which we find placed by Herrera near to Mindanao (1). While he remained here, he was visited by a canoe with nine people on board from the island of Zulvan, who are very highly commended for their humanity and civility. These men afterwards brought other boats; and it is very remarkable, that the cargos of these boats did not speak a barren indigent country, any more than the behaviour of those on board shewed them a brutal or barbarous people. Amongst their merchandize, an eye-witness assures us, that there were cloves, cinnamon, ginger, pepper, nutmegs, mace, and gold wrought into many antic forms. The people who brought them were naked, with large pieces of gold in their ears, and having jewels set in gold for bracelets; about their waists they wore a coarse cloth, made of the rind of a certain tree. Their island was situated in the latitude of 10 deg. north, and taking all circumstances together of country, boats, and people, was probably one of the New Philippines. In those days the inhabitants of all these isles enjoyed a free and extensive commerce; and, in consequence of that, were far more humane, civilized, and polite, than they are at present. They collected these rich commodities for the sake of trade, and exchanged them for others that they liked better. But when the Spaniards and Portuguese had settled some of the islands, those that lay at a distance lost all communication with them, the inhabitants preferring poverty with freedom to all the advantages that arose from commerce; and thus, by degrees, they degenerated from what they were, and became less knowing and more savage than they had been, retaining however the knowlege of some mechanic arts, and some small remains of science, which still speaks plainly enough, that their ancestors were another kind of people, as having lived in better times; and, by the help of this key, the reader will understand very clearly many things that would be unintelligible, if not incredible, in the relations he will meet with in the course of this narration.

The islands lying on the south-east of the Ladrones, and the probability of more islands, or perhaps, some continent on this side.

(1) Herrera Descripcion de las Indias Occidentales, cap. xxvi. Eden's History of Travayl. Recueil des Voyages, qui ont servi a l'Etablissement de la Compagnie des Indes Orientales, tom. vii. p. 105.

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as St. Stephen, Isla de Arrefites, Casbobas, Lafurganes, and Pescadores, or, *the Fisher's Island* [s]. The island of St. Bartholomew lies in the latitude of 14 deg. north, and near 20 deg. to the east of Guam, and appears both in the old and these new charts to be larger than any of the Marianne islands. We have no description of any of the islands, probably because they were only seen by ships in their passage; but they might be easily examined, and perhaps many more found in or near the same track, if any vessels were employed from New Spain to that purpose; and, though they might not happen to produce any valuable commodities, yet certainly they would facilitate the correspondence with the Marianne islands, in case they were thoroughly settled and improved; and, in that respect, might be rendered equally beneficial and convenient. To say nothing of the probability there is, that some larger and more valuable countries might be discovered, since it is not easy to conceive that there should be so many small islands with shoals about them in so vast an ocean, without some great and more considerable continent, as is common in the like cases, and of which instances will shortly occur, as well as within the bounds of this Pacific Sea.

The islands that lie to the south-west, and the danger of their sinking again into oblivion.

As to the islands of the south-west, we find three lying in a triangle in the old charts, which are called los Corales, or Islas del Coral, that is, *the Coral Islands*. The archipelago, styled de los Reynes, because discovered on the feast of the Epiphany, consists of five islands. The island of Saavedra is a pretty large one. The Matalotes, or *Companions*, are smaller. The los Jardines, or *the Gardens*, were so called from their having a very beautiful and pleasant appearance. Isla de Aracises, or, *the Island of Rocks*, is also pretty large, but in a manner inaccessible. Pulo Vilan, or *the island of St. Vilan*, is as large as any of the Ladrones; and the island of St. Juan, or de Palmas, is the most to the west of them all, and nearest the Moluccas [t]. We know that when these islands were first discovered by the Spaniards, they were very full of people, the inhabitants had prows of different sizes, were not at all shy of strangers, but readily came on board the ships; but, though we have these and other particu-

[s] G. Battista Ramusio, Racolto delle Navigationi et Viaggi, tom. i. fol. 371, a. Galvano's Discoveries, translated by Hakluyt. Eden's History of Travayle. [t] Herrera, Descripcion de las Indias Occidentales, cap. xxviii. Galvano's Discoveries, translated by Hakluyt, Eden's History of Travayle.

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lars in our old collections, yet we find no mention of them in modern books; as if it was designed they should retire again from the knowlege of men, and relapse into their original obscurity.

Alvaro de Saavedra, discovers a considerable country to the south of the line.

We have before mentioned some of the discoveries of Alvaro de Saavedra, whom his cousin, the famous Ferdinand Cortes, sent to the Moluccas. He, endeavouring to return from thence in the month of May, 1529, had sight of a large country to the south, along the east coast of which he sailed till the month of August, running in that time the space of five hundred leagues. Having run as low as seven degrees south, he judged it expedient to return, and in his passage saw several considerable islands, about which there were sands and shoals, though the coast of the larger country seemed to be clean and good anchorage. After passing the line he discovered an island lying some degrees towards the north, which he called Isla de los Pintados, or *of the painted People*; because the inhabitants were white, but had their bodies painted very curiously of different colours; he judged them, by their complexion and features, to be descended from the Chinese. They did not seem to have any government amongst them, were very timid; and, more especially, afraid of fire, which they had never seen. They buried their fruits and small fish in the sand, in places most exposed to the sun, for a certain time, and then took them up, eating them, as it were, baked. In the latitude of 10 deg. north he discovered an archipelago of islands abounding with palm-trees and very fine grass. These people he also judged to have been originally from China, though they now lived like the former, without any kind of rule. They were clothed in long white habits, made of a sort of grass, but were very lazy, living in the like indolent manner with the former; and had prows made of a sort of white pine, which at certain seasons came floating upon their coasts, they knew not how, or from whence; which, however, they wrought very neatly and ingeniously with tools made of shells [u].

The inhabitants of this continent, and adjacent islands, black people, with curled hair.

The inhabitants of the larger country, which, in respect to the islands, was a kind of continent, and the inhabitants also of most of the islands, were absolutely black, with curled hair like the Negroes, and from thence called Papuas, which in the language of the people of the

[u] Maffei, Historia Indica. Purchas's Pilgrims, p. 603. Eden's History of Travayle, p. 906.

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Moluccas, signifies *a dark coloured-people.* Cortes afterwards sent other ships along this coast to perfect these discoveries, as the Portuguese had done before from their settlements, the result of which expeditions was the discovering many other islands, most of them peopled; and that the inhabitants of the larger country were divided into several kingdoms, some of which were tributaries to the monarchs of the Moluccas. The people in these islands and on the continent, had considerable quantities of gold, some fine spices, and other rich commodities, and carried on at this time some degree of commerce [w]; but as yet they were not very well known, and the natives of the Moluccas affected to keep their intercourse with them, and the profits that accrued to them from it, very private.

This country comes from hence to be called Nueva Guinea, or New Guinea.

About the year 1545, Ruy Lopez de Villa Lobos coming into these parts with the title of general, and a squadron of six sail of good ships, gave new names to several of the places which Saavedra had discovered; and, amongst the rest, bestowed that of Nueva Guinea, or *New Guinea*, upon the country of the Papuas. From this time till the end of that century the Spanish pilots examined the whole of the coast very carefully, bestowed names on several bays, promontories, and harbours, and gave it as their opinion, that either this continent was continued, or, that a multitude of large islands lay south-east from thence, as far as the streights of Magellan. They likewise agreed, that the country was fruitful, well-peopled, and that the inhabitants had ornaments of gold. Amongst others they reported this singular circumstance, that there were intermixed with these blacks a race of white people not like the Europeans, but of a chalky tallowish white, with very weak eyes scarce able to bear the light of the sun, and a weak, languid, and helpless people withal; though there were also some, but very few, that were brisk, active, and had tolerably good eyes [x]. These sort of people the Spaniards distinguished by the name of Albinas, and they seem to be precisely the same kind of men with the Moon-eyed Indians, on the Isthmus of Darien [y].

[w] Fran. Lopez de Gomara, Historia general de las Indias, lib. xi. Herrera, Descripcion de las Indias Occidentales, cap. xxvii. Galvano's Discoveries, translated by Hakluyt. [x] Galvano's Discoveries, translated by Hackluyt. Herrera, Descripcion de las Indias Occidentales, cap. xxvii. Eden's History of Travayle, p. 098. [y] Argensola Conquista de las Islas Malucas, lib. i.

Don

Don Joseph Quirogoa, who was governor of the Marianne islands, and who completed the conquest of that whole archipelago, having intelligence that a large island had been seen to the south-west, sent, in the year 1686, Don Alonso Poon, a chamorris, or one of the native nobility, to discover it, but without effect. He was sent four years after to as little purpose. This miscarriage did not hinder the bestowing the name of Carolina on this half-known island, in honour of Charles II. then king of Spain. In 1696, it was again seen by a vessel bound from the Philippines to the Marianne islands, and was then styled the isle of St. Barnabas, as having been seen on the feast of that apostle [z]. The year following an accident disclosed, what, whoever considers their situation in a map, will conceive it almost impossible that the Spaniards should not have known before, that there was a large archipelago of fine islands between them and the Mariannes (L).

Don Joseph de Quirogoa causes search to be made for the island of Carolina.

This

[z] P. le Gobien, Histoire des Isles Mariannes, liv. x.

(L) That the Spaniards having before them the voyage of Magellan, and those who were employed to perfect his discoveries, should never gain any knowlege of this archipelago, or that they should conceal it; if they did, is not easily to be understood: but be that as it will, we have before hinted, and we will now prove, that these islands have not been always hid from the eyes of the Europeans. Sir Francis Drake undoubtedly passed through them, and the account he gave of them very well deserves the reader's notice, who, from the foregoing sections, will clearly discern that the islands he mentions were not, as hath hitherto been supposed, the Ladrones, but the islands of which we are now speaking. He quitted the country of New Albion, which is a part of California, in the year 1578, and the next land he saw was this chain of islands. We will deliver this account in the words of the original voyage; for though the language be old, yet the observation, that Sir Francis Drake first discovered these islands, is wholly new: "After we had set sayle from hence we continued without sight of land till the 13th day of October following, which day in the morning we fell in with certain islands, 8 deg. to the northward of the line; from which came a great number of canoes, having in some of them four, in some six, and in some also fourteen men, bringing with them cocoas and other fruits. Their canoes were hollow within, and cut with great art and cunning, being very smooth within and without, and bearing a gloss as if it were of horn daintily burnished, having a prow and a sterne of one sort, yielding inward circlewise, being of a great height, and

This event fell out by two prows, on board of which were thirty of the inhabitants, being driven on the 28th of September, 1696, on the island of Samal by the eastern monsoon, which reigns in those seas from October to May. These people are in their own language called Palaos; and some of them had been before blown by the like accident into other of the Philippines, without any great notice being taken of them; but the coming of these into an island, where there were upwards of forty missionaries, occasioned a stricter and more effectual enquiry, as they drew from them competent accounts of their country[a] (M).

They

[a] Philosophical Transactions, No. 317, p. 189.

and full of certain white shells, for a bravery; and on each side of them lye out two pieces of timber, about a yard and a half long, more or less, according to the smallness or bigness of the boat. This people have the nether part of their ears cut into a round circle, hanging down very low upon their cheeks, whereon they hang things of reasonable weight. The nails of their hands are an inch long, their teeth are as black as pitch, and they renew them often by eating of an herb, with a kind of powder, which they always carry about them in a cane for the same purpose. Leaving this island the night after we fell in with it, the 18th of October, we lighted upon divers others; some whereof made a great shew of inhabitants. We continued our course by the islands of Tagulada, Zelon, and Zewarra, being friends to the Portugals, the first whereof hath growing in it great store of cinnamon" It is plain, from the furniture of these vessels, from their having two outlayers instead of one, but more especially from the number of persons on board them, that they did not come from any of the Ladrone islands; though there is no need of adding any additional arguments to this, if we consider the latitude assigned, and the islands that our great seamen report to have been in their neighbourhood. By comparing this with the former notes, and carrying their contents along in his mind, the reader will be thoroughly convinced, that, exclusive of the entertainment he receives from the drawing together so many curious and neglected passages relating to these distant countries, we afford him inconteſtible evidence of the truth of our suggestion, that the Spaniards always had, and still have, spice islands in their possession, whenever they shall esteem it consistent with their policy to bring the produce of them into Europe.

(M) We may with some colour of justice suspect, that, notwithstanding what most of the Spanish writers affirm, the governors of the Philippines, and other sensible people in

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They had run before the wind for seventy days together, according to their own relation, without being able to make any land till they came in sight of the town of Guivam, *Shipwreck of thirty Paloes.*

that part of the world, were not so long or so utterly ignorant of some such archipelago as this, before the accident happened that is mentioned in the text: for we know that some years before this, the king's brother of these new Philippines, in a sea voyage, was driven on the coast of Caragan, in the great island of Mindanao (1). The Spanish fathers, who have a very fine mission there, received this prince with a great deal of honour and friendship, and instructed him in the Christian religion; which he was so well pleased with, that he never thought again of returning to his own country. In the mean time the king, dissatisfied at the loss of his brother, fitted out a fleet of one hundred small vessels, which he sent to every island under his dominion, to see if they could learn any news of him. One of these little vessels was forced by a storm on the coast of Caragan, at the same place as the king's brother was before: where landing, they immediately knew him, and with tears told him the occasion of their voyage, the discontent of the king his brother, and desired him to return back with them. The prince thanked them for the trouble they had been at, and desired them to satisfy the king hat he was well and contented, but could not by any means be persuaded to return home again. One would have imagined, that this single fact might have occasioned an enquiry, if nothing of the like kind had ever happened before. But even in Samal, the island to which these people came, there had small vessels run ashore, sometimes with, and sometimes without people on board them. From the reports of some persons thus cast away, a story was very current amongst the Spaniards, of an island of Amazons, who were visited at a certain season of the year by men from an opposite island, who, after staying with them a short time, retired with all the male children of a certain age. They believed, upon the credit of the same persons, that in some island, at no great distance, there was such plenty of ambergrise, that the ignorant inhabitants caulked their boats with it. Padre Feijoo, a very grave judicious writer, who seems to make no difficulty of admitting the story of the Amazons, which, however, might possibly be founded only in a mistake, because these people breed up their boys and girls at a distanee from each other, and in separate houses, looks upon what is said of the ambergrise as the most ridiculous of all fictions: yet, how absurd soever it might appear

(1) Philosophical Transactions, No. 517. p. 198, 199.

Guivam, an inhabitant of which being on the ſhore, perceived them, and judging, from the make and ſize of their veſſels, they were ſtrangers, and out of their courſe, took a piece of cloth, and made them a ſignal of entering the road as he directed, to avoid the ſhoals and banks of ſand. Theſe poor people were ſo frighted at the ſight of this ſtranger, that they began to put to ſea again; but the wind forced them back towards the ſhore: when they came near, the Guivameſe made the ſame ſignal as before; but ſeeing they would unavoidably be loſt, he threw himſelf into the ſea, and ſwam to one of the little veſſels to bring them ſafe into the harbour. He no ſooner reached them than the women, with their children on their backs, and all that were in that veſſel, threw themſelves overboard, and ſwam to the other. He ſeeing himſelf alone in the veſſel, reſolved to follow them; and getting aboard the ſecond, ſhewed them how to avoid the ſhoals, and brought them in ſafe. In the mean time they ſtood immoveable, and reſigned themſelves up entirely to the conduct of this ſtranger, as if they had been ſo many priſoners. The inhabitants of Guivam received them very kindly, and brought them wine and other proviſions. They eat cocoas very freely, which are the fruit of the palm-trees of this country. Their pulp is ſomething like that of cheſnuts, only that it is more oily, and it ſupplies them with a ſort of ſweet water, very pleaſant to drink. They gave them rice boiled in water, which is eaten there, and all over Aſia, as bread is in Europe; they looked on it with ſurprize, and taking up ſome grains of it, threw them on the ground, ſuppoſing them to be worms. Upon bringing them large roots, called palavan, they eat them haſtily and heartily. They brought them

in Spain, the people of Samal did not in the leaſt heſitate at believing it; and for this plain reaſon, that the very ſame thing had happened more than once upon their own iſland. But before much of this precious drug had been thus abuſed, the father Jeſuits ſmelt it out, bought it for a trifle of the Indians, and ſold it for a good price to thoſe who knew where to bring it to a ſtill better market. It appears evidently enough from hence, and we could prove it from many other inſtances, that it is a faſhionable doctrine at preſent in Spain, that theſe undiſcovered countries are all barren, and have nothing in them worth ſeeking (1).

(1) Giovan. Franceſco Gemelli Carreri, Giro del Mondo, p. v. liv. i. chap. 9.

ſoon

soon after two women that had formerly been driven on shore on the coast of Guivam, and who understood a little of the language of this country; one of the women found amongst these strangers one of her relations, and as soon as they knew each other, they fell a weeping. The inhabitants of Guivam strove with each other who should entertain these strangers at their houses, and furnish them with provisions, cloaths, and other necessaries. Of thirty-five persons that embarked, there remained but thirty, five dying through want of provisions, and other hardships, in so long a voyage; and some time after their arrival another died [b].

Account given by them of their islands.

They related, that their country consisted of thirty-two islands, which could not be far distant from the Mariannes, as was judged by the smallness of their vessels and the form of their sails, which are very like those of the Marianese. It is supposed that these islands were in 11 or 12 deg. of north latitude, more southerly than the Mariannes, and under the same degree of longitude as Guivam; for sailing directly from east to west, they came ashore at this town. These strangers added, that of the thirty-two islands, three of them were uninhabited, but abounded with wild-fowl, and all the rest were well peopled. Upon asking them the number of inhabitants, they pointed to a heap of sand, to shew that their number was very great. The names of these islands are Pais, Lamululutup, Saraon, Yaoropie, Valayyay, Satavan, Cutac, Yfaluc, Piraulop, Ytai, Pic, Piga, Lamurrec, Puc, Falait, Caruvaruvong, Ylatu, Lamuliur, Tavas, Saypen, Tacaulep, Rapiyang, Tavon, Mutacusau, Piylu, Olatan, Palu, Cucumyat, and Piyalucunung. The three islands that have nothing on them but wild-fowl, are Piculet, Hulatan, and Pagian. The most considerable of all these islands is Lamurrec, where the king of the country keeps his court, and to him the governors of all the other islands are subject (N).

Among

[b] Philosophical Transactions, No. 317. p. 189. Pere le Gobien, Histoire des Isles Marianes, p. 401. Lettres edifiantes & curieuses.

(N) As a proof that these people were intelligent to a certain degree, it is sufficient to observe, that they exhibited a map of the whole archipelago, consisting of eighty-seven islands. The method they took to do this was very singular, and we may likewise say, in some measure, correct. They laid down upon a table as many small stones as there were islands, placed them in their proper position, and, as these were

Among those strangers there was one of the governors, and his wife, who was the king's daughter; though they went half naked, yet their deportment, and a peculiar air of greatness, sufficiently distinguished them from the rest. The husband had his body painted all over with certain lines, in such a manner that they formed several figures. The rest of the people were also painted more or less. The women and children were not painted at all; there

copied upon paper, they gave the name of each, and directed a figure to be inscribed in it, to shew how many days sail it would take to pass round it; and a figure to be placed between every two islands, shewing how many days sail was between them. The whole very clear and intelligible; nor have we any thing better of the kind since. The island from whence these people came was Amorsot, in the latitude of 10 deg. 30 min. north; and the island to which they were bound was Paiz, lying to the south-west, at the distance of about twelve days sail, and in the latitude of 10 degrees north. The island in which they lived was three days sail in circumference; that to which they were bound, four. The largest of these islands, which the Spaniards write Panloco, the French Panloque, and in our English map it is Panlog, lies but three days sail east from the point of Guivam; and not above two days sail north-east of the island of Mindanao, between the latitudes of 8 deg. 20 min. and 11 deg. 30 min. north. According to this description of their's, the whole five provinces of these islands lie from 1 deg. 30 min. south, to 16 deg. north, having the islands of Samal, that of Mindanao, the Moluccas, and Gilolo, to the west; the Marianne islands to the north-east, and the Pacific Ocean on all sides (1). The reader will perceive, that this differs in some respects from what is advanced in the text; but we cannot help that, the former stands upon the credit of the first narrative, written upon the spot, and at the time; the latter, upon a subsequent epistle to father le Gobien, at the time that he transmitted the former to his brethren the Jesuits in France; and as he affirms that his remarks were written from later informations, and with a view to supply the deficiencies of the first account, it was thought they could not appear more properly here than in a note. It may not be amiss to add, that this reverend father not being initiated into the maxims of Spanish policy, assures us, that there is great probability from their situation, and many other circumstances, that these islands may abound with gold, amber, spice, and other valuable commodities (2).

(1) See the map in the Philosophical Transactions, No. 317.
(2) This letter is not in his History of the Marianne Islands.

were

were nineteen men and ten women of different ages; the make and colour of their faces were much like the Philippineſe. The men had a ſaſh wrapped ſeveral times round their bodies, covering their reins and thighs; they wore on their ſhoulders about an ell and an half of coarſe linen-cloth, like a cowl, tied before, and hanging looſe behind. Both men and women dreſſed much alike, only that the women had a piece of cloth ſomewhat longer, that hung from their waiſt down to their knees [c].

Their language differs from that of the Philippineſe and Marianneſe; their manner of pronouncing comes neareſt that of the Arabs; and ſome who underſtood the language, obſerved the women that ſeemed the moſt conſiderable amongſt them, had ſeveral rings and necklaces of tortoiſe-ſhells (called here carey) and others made of a ſubſtance much like amber, but not tranſparent. The manner of their living at ſea for ſeventy days together, continually driven by the wind, was thus: they caſt out a ſort of net, made of a great many twigs of trees tied together, with a large mouth for the fiſh to enter, and terminating in a point to prevent their getting out. The fiſh they took after this manner was all the nouriſhment they had; and rain-water ſaved in cocoa-ſhells, which is the fruit of the palm-trees, and of the figure and ſize of a man's head. *Their language.*

They have no cows in their iſlands, and at the ſight of them they run away, as they did likewiſe at the barking of a dog; neither have they cats, ſtags, horſes, or, in general, any quadrupede; or any fowl but ſea-fowl, excepting thoſe which they breed up; but never eat their eggs. Nevertheleſs, they are very chearful and well-contented with their condition. Their ſongs and dances are exact and regular; they ſing in concert, every one obſerving the ſame geſtures, which uniformity renders the muſic agreeable. They were ſurpriſed at the government, politeneſs, and manners of the Europeans. They admired not only the ſolemnities and ceremonies of the church, in celebrating the divine ſervice, but alſo the muſic, inſtruments, dances, and arms of the Spaniards: and gunpowder was what ſurpriſed them moſt. They wondered at the whiteneſs of the Europeans, in reſpect of whom they were perfectly tawney. It did not appear that they had any knowledge either of a Deity, or that they worſhipped *Advantages and diſadvantages of their country and manner of living.*

[c] Philoſophical Tranſactions, No. 317. p. 189. Pere le Gobien, Hiſtoire des Iſles Marianes, p. 403. Lettres edifiantes & curieuſes.

idols. Their customs were perfectly savage, they minded nothing but eating and drinking, when hungry or dry, and when they could find any thing to satisfy nature; yet they ate but little at a time, and never enough to suffice for a whole day [d].

Great resemblance in their manners to those of the Marianese.

They shewed much respect and deference for their king, and the governors of towns, and obey them very punctually. Their civility and respect consists in taking hold of the hand or foot of the person they would honour, and gently rubbing their faces. Amongst their utensils they had some saws, not made of iron, but of a large shell, called here tacbobo, which they rub and whet upon a certain kind of stone. They were surprised to see the number of carpenters tools used in building a merchant-man at Guivam. They have no metals in their country. The father missionary made each of them a present of a large piece of iron, which they received with as much joy as if it had been gold; and for fear it should be stolé from them, they laid it under their heads when they went to sleep. They have no other arms than lances or darts, armed with human bones, very sharp, and well fixed. They are naturally very peaceable; but if any quarrel happens amongst them, it is decided with some fisty cuffs, which yet very rarely happens, for when they are come to a closer fight, they are separated, and soon reconciled. They are not dull and heavy; but, on the contrary, have a great deal of livelinefs and spirit. They are not so lusty as the inhabitants of the Mariannes, yet are they well-proportioned, and shaped much like the Philippinese. Both the men and women let their hair grow long, and hang loose on their shoulders. When they understood that they were to be conducted to the presence of the father missionary, they painted their bodies all over with a yellow colour, which is looked upon by them as a great ornament. The oldest of these strangers was once before cast on the coast of Caragan. They are very expert at diving; and they said, that in fishing they took two large pearls in their shells, but threw them into the sea again, not knowing their value [e].

Are most kindly treated by the missionary and people of Guivam.

When they were brought into the presence of the father missionary, and saw the profound respect that was paid

[d] Philosophical Transactions, No. 317. p. 189. Du Bois Geographie Moderne, p. 701. Lettres edifiantes & curieuses. [e] Pere le Gobien, Histoire des Isles Marianes, p. 408. Philosophical Transactions, No. 317. p. 196. Lettres edifiantes & curieuses.

him,

him, they immediately conceived that he must be the monarch of this country, and as absolute as their own, and of course that upon the breath of his lips their future fate must depend. They approached him therefore with all possible testimonies of awe and reverence, and he, on the other hand, laboured as much as in him lay to console them, and to make them sensible that they had nothing to fear. He was particularly careful to caress their children, of whom three were still at the breast, and five were but just weaned, and able to go alone. He likewise took care to distribute them properly, so that the married people should not be separated, and that at least two of them might always remain together, and that they might not pine for want of society. This care had proper effects; the people were extremely sensible of the kindness shewn them, conformed themselves gradually to the customs of those amongst whom they lived, and offered very readily to go with any that should be sent, to convert their countrymen to the Christian religion, and bring about a correspondence between their islands, and those under the dominion of his Catholic majesty.

Several years elapse before any attempt is made to perfect this discovery.

This alacrity was well received by the governor of the Philippines, who talked of the expedition to the islands of the Palaos, as a thing worthy of being undertaken; but never undertook it, nor his successor after him. Father Andrew Serrano, a missionary of great piety and probity, who had spent thirty years in preaching to and protecting the Indians in the Philippines, took the matter sincerely to heart, went in the year 1706 to Rome, and obtained recommendations to the court of Madrid; in consequence of which, orders were sent for dispatching thither two missionaries immediately. These orders were executed in the month of November, 1710, when a ship was sent on the discovery with two missionaries on board, and one of the converts that had remained at Samal. After sailing fourteen days, they observed two islands bearing from them north-east, which the fathers called the islands of St. Andrew. A boat came from one of these islands, and, upon their countryman's shewing himself, the people came on board, crying out Mapia! Mapia! which, in their language, signifies *good folks*.

The attempts that are made defeated, and the views at length abandoned.

They were very kindly received, and extremely well pleased. They said that the name of their island was Sanfarol; and that the principal isle of their archipelago, was called Panlok, lying north-north-east. They mentioned also two other islands to the south-west and the south-east, which they called Merieres and Paulo. The

captain could find no port or road; however the two missionaries would land, and were accordingly put on shore with the Palaos they brought with them, his wife and children. These islands were in the latitude of five degrees and twenty-eight minutes north; they afterwards steered for Panlok, which was fifty leagues distant; but that also proved destitute of a port; nor was it possible, in their return, so much as to send the boat on shore at Sansarol; so that they returned without any news of their missionaries. Upon his coming back to the Philippines, father Serrano embarked on a like expedition, and many years elapsed before any news was heard of any of these fathers. At length came advice from China, that the fathers Duberon and Courtil, who were first sent, had been murdered by the natives, who were not such innocents in their own country as they appeared to be at Samal [f]. As for father Serrano, he prevailed on the captain of his ship to attempt running into a creek; but his zeal proved fatal alike to himself and the crew, one Indian only excepted, who, afterwards by some means or other, was carried to China, and gave this account to the fathers Jesuits there, by whom it was transmitted to their brethren at the Philippines [g].

An account of the whole archipelago from some of the natives, cast ashore upon the east end of the island of Guam.

At length, however, this whole archipelago to the number of eighty or eighty-seven islands was discovered in the same manner as parts of it had hitherto been, that is, by accident. In 1722 a strange bark run on shore on the east end of the island Guam, having on board eleven men, seven women, and six children; one of the natives who was fishing near the place, having given notice to the chief man of the village, he persuaded the people to come on shore, which they did, and were very kindly entertained. Their vessel appeared very curious, even in the eyes of the Marianneſe, whose prows all the rest of the world so much admire. In many respects it resembled these; but in some was very different. The head and stern were exactly alike, representing the tail of a dolphin; upon the deck were four little cabins wonderfully neat, and very artificially covered with palm-leaves [h]. Of these there was one at each end of the boat, and one on each side of the mast upon the outlayers; for they had two; whereas the Marianne

[f] Fastes chronologiques de la Decouverte du Noveau Monde, par Pere Charlevoix, p. 44. Fr. B. G. Feijo, Theatro critico universal, tom. ix. p. 138. Lettres edifiantes et curieuses.
[g] Idem ibid. [h] Fastes Chronologiques de la Decouverte du Nouveau Monde, par Pere Charlevoix, p. 44.

prows

prows have but one The hold was in like manner divided into several apartments, some for containing their cargo, and others to hold their provisions. This vessel had sailed in conjunction with four others from the island of Fariolep for that of Ulcea, and had been driven out of their course by a storm. According to the account they gave, these islands lie from the line to eleven degrees of north latitude, having New Guinea on the south, the Philippines on the west, the Marianne islands to the north, and the Pacific Ocean to the east. This archipelago is divided into five provinces, each of which has its peculiar language; but all have such an affinity, that, though with some difficulty, the inhabitants of one province can make themselves understood by those of the other; and some think that these five languages are only different dialects of a corrupt Arabic [i].

The inhabitants an active, well made, vigorous, and industrious people.

These islands enjoy as fine a climate, except in the time of hurricanes, as can be wished; the soil is very fruitful, producing excellent grass, some delicious fruits, and abundance of very beautiful and shady trees. It is true they have not rice, or wheat, or barley, or Indian corn; but they have fruits, roots, and fish in great plenty, and some fowl; but no quadrupeds of any kind: the people are tall and well made; their hair is a little inclined to the crispness of the negroes; their noses larger, their eyes full and very piercing, and their beards thick, which no other Indian nation have. What is most singular, their complexions differ through all the shades from a light olive to a dark copper colour. They have a very grave and decent deportment, but are very far from being melancholy; on the contrary, they sing and dance much, and even in the sentiment of Europeans, not ungracefully; they are very affectionate and good-humoured to each other; and we may easily form a judgment of their disposition from a saying that is common amongst them, though not heard any-where else: one man, say they, never kills another. They sometimes quarrel and fight, but as soon as there is any bloodshed the dispute is over, and the conquerors erect arches of triumph [k].

Without any rational notions of religion, except as to a future state.

As to religion, they have no distinct idea of a Supreme Being, or of a Providence; but they believe that there are good and evil spirits, and that both of them marry and beget

[i] Lettres edifiantes et curieuses. Pere le Gobien Histoire des Isles Marianes. Philosophical Transactions, No. 317. p. 199. Lettres edifiantes et curieuses.

[k]

children;

children; concerning whom they have a multitude of idle fables and stories, with which we shall not tire the reader's patience. They have a tolerable notion of a future state, in which they believe that the good are happy, and the wicked miserable. They have priests and priestesses, who pretend to converse with the spirits of the deceased, and pronounce very peremptorily who are and who are not happy. When the common people die their bodies are carried out to sea, and abandoned to the fish; but their nobility are buried with great pomp and ceremony, and have tombs erected to their memories. They consider these as guardian spirits, distinguish them by the name of Tahaputs, invoke their assistance upon every occasion, and make offerings to them, an honour which they never pay to the celestial or infernal spirits. As to their notions about the latter, they do not perplex themselves much; render them no divine honours of any sort; seem not sollicitous to please, or afraid of offending them [l]. There could not therefore be any great, and, much less, any insurmountable difficulties in bringing these people to embrace Christianity, by shewing them how little tendency these fictions have to render men wiser or better, and, on the contrary, how well the doctrines of the gospel are adapted to promote both.

The government of these islands a regular, and, at the same time, a gentle aristocracy.

Their government is well established in a regular aristocracy. There are in every island several families of nobles, and the eldest of each of these is styled a Tamol. There is, besides, a chief tamol in every island, who administers justice with the advice of the other tamols. These nobles always appear in very decent robes with long beards, and affect a stately majestic gravity. When they give audience, they sit in their own houses upon tables; such as approach them bend their bodies, and never look up while they are speaking, and are very careful in retiring, not to turn their backs on them. But, with all this gravity, and all this respect, there is nothing of tyranny on the one side, or of slavery on the other. Their authority is exerted only in giving good advice, and supported by giving a good example [m]. They have but one revenue, and that of a strange kind. All the iron that, by wrecks or any other accidents, comes into the hands of these people, belongs of right to the tamol, to whom it is carried, who makes of it useful tools, and lets them out at a pretty high

[l] Fastes chronologiques de la Decouverte du Nouveau Monde, par Pere Charlevoix, p. 44. [m] Idem Ibid.

price,

price, which is what principally enables him to support his dignity. Every tamol is sung to sleep in the evening by the youth of the village, whom he rewards in their turn with some little present. It is, after all, but a painful preheminence; for the tamol's whole study is to maintain, by a correct and irreproachable behaviour, the dignity of his character, which procures him a submission the most arbitrary princes are strangers to, and a veneration and respect scarce mingled with fear; for the tamol never punishes but by reproof; and, if men are incorrigibly wicked, they are banished by the council of tamols to some distant islands [n].

Education of children as well provided for, as in the most civilized country.

In every village there are two houses destined for the education of youth. In one, the boys are lodged, and in the other the girls. In this point perhaps they exceed the most civilized nations; for there every boy is brought up in all the knowlege that the nation possesses, by old men, who have attained to perfection the several things they teach; such as the art of cultivating fruits and roots, odoriferous herbs and flowers, of which they are passionately fond: the method of making domestic utensils, weaving nets, and heading spears, is the succeeding part of their institution. They next instruct them in every kind of fishing; and, when they are strong enough, initiate them in boat-building: last of all, they are taught a little astronomy, by shewing them the few stars they know upon a sphere, and directed how to apply this small portion of science to navigation, and the art of steering their vessels. On the other hand, the girls are taught to dress fish, fruits, and roots in different manners; to sow the seed of a certain kind of grass; to dress that in such a manner as to make thread; to spin and weave it into cloth; and to draw out the fibres from the bark of a tree called Balibago, of which they make mats and sails [o].

Their diversions, amusements, and exercises, well contrived, and properly timed.

They have several diversions amongst them, and of these singing and dancing are the chief. But they have no conception of any such thing as instrumental music. On such occasions both men and women pique themselves upon being extremely well dressed; neat and clean they always are, for they wash thrice a day. They wear plumes of feathers, and garlands of flowers upon their heads; they have large holes in their ears which they fill with sweet-smelling herbs; on their wrists they wear a kind of

[n] Lettres edifiantes et curieuses.

[o] Fastes Chronologiques de la Decouverte du Noveau Monde, par Pere Charlevoix, p. 44.

bracelets,

bracelets, as also on their ankles and arms. The men also have exercises suited to their sex; they wrestle, throw the lance, fling stones at a mark, toss balls in the air, catching and throwing them up continually [p]. These pastimes are varied according to the seasons, and are all calculated to render them active and agile in the several kinds of labour upon which their subsistence depends. In the month of February all their tomals have a meeting in the chief island, and pretend to predict whether the fishing will be good, and whether the ensuing year will be fortunate or not; which kind of superstition it is likely they have found very conducive, if not absolutely necessary, to support their authority; for all barbarous nations have a wonderful desire to look into futurity, and naturally reverence those who assume to themselves the knowlege of events that are to come; and are easily persuaded to believe that such things as are artfully foretold, shall actually come to pass; and thus ignorance is every where the mother of superstition [q].

The different names given to this archipelago, and the reasons of its being so little known.

This new archipelago passes under very different names. At first these isles were styled the Palaos, which seems to have been the name given them by the natives; then the islands of St. Barnabas and St. Andrew, from circumstances that have been already mentioned. Sometimes we find them called the Caroline islands; but their most common denomination is that of the New Philippines [r]. We find them, however, in very few maps; our modern geographers scarce mention them, differ as to their situation, and preserve but very few particulars that regard them. This omission might, perhaps, have justified us in the same neglect; for history seldom takes any great notice of countries that geography has not fully described; but we are so far from thinking this a motive to pass them over hastily, that we thought it incumbent on us to treat of them largely, to draw together all the particulars we could meet with, in respect to these islands and their inhabitants, in order to excite the curiosity of the public; and thereby, as far as lies in our power, promote their farther discovery; for as yet, after all we have said, they are but very darkly discovered.

[p] Lettres edifiantes et curieuses. [q] P. le Gobien, Histoire des Isles Marianes, lib. i. Du Bois Geographie Moderne. [r] Pere le Gobien Histoire des Isles Marianes, p. 401, 402. Giovan. Francesco Gemelli Carreri, Giro del Mondo, p. v. liv. i. chap. 9. Lettres edifiantes et curieuses.

It

It is indeed very singular, that, considering their situation, the number of them, and their lying as it were, within several circles one within another, in the very midst of countries possessed by the Spaniards, they should remain for two centuries in a manner unknown, or, at least, unnoticed. It is yet more strange that, after the first intelligence of them, and that too by accident, they should remain upwards of fifty years in a manner half discovered. It is certainly very surprising, that in an age so enlightened as this, an event of this sort should be so little considered or attended to; and, that the finding of these islands should be registered only amongst the relations of missionaries, the collections of societies destined to the promotion of science, and be in a manner wholly slighted by the great world, by geographers, historians, and statesmen; from all of whom, from the nature of things, discoveries of this kind claim more immediate regard [s].

Very little noticed by historians or statesmen, but considered by philosophers.

But the most extraordinary circumstance of all is, that not only the benefits that might result from this discovery have been overlooked, but the very circumstances that attended it, have been so little known, that the very certainty of there being such islands, has been lately disputed by one of the most learned men in Spain. It is not above thirty years ago that in a discourse, relating to dubious and fabulous countries, too hastily credited upon indistinct relations and ill-founded reports, these islands of Palaos were mentioned by this inquisitive and judicious writer, who was then acquainted with only the first accounts of them, as published by father Andrew Serrano during his stay at Madrid [t]. However, four year afterwards, upon the review of his work, which is justly in high esteem, he very fairly and honestly confessed his mistake, and acknowleged that the reality of this archipelago had been proved by incontestible evidence, and that there was no more reason to doubt the existence of the New than the Old Philippines [u]: but even, after all this, he attemps to extenuate and lessen the merit of the discovery, by observing, that though it had been surmised from their situation, that these islands must abound in gold, silver, and spices, yet there appeared no grounds from their discovery, to adopt these notions as facts; because, from the excessive fondness the natives discovered for iron, it was evident they were unacquainted with other metals. This seems

Least known, and very hardly admitted to exist by the more learned Spaniards.

[s] L'Esprit des Loix, liv. xx. cap. 18.
[t] Fr. B. G. Feijo, Theatro critico universal, tom. ix. p. 138.
[u] Ibid.

to

to be a very strange deduction by so wise and penetrating a writer; for the value these people set upon iron most certainly arose from their knowing the use of that metal; and, without having commerce with other nations, it was impossible they should be acquainted with the uses of silver and gold, which arise chiefly from their being common measures; and consequently, the great instruments of trade, which however does by no means shew that they have not these metals in their countries, or that they have not spices, concerning which they made no declarations one way or other.

Gold and silver not at all necessary to render colonies valuable to their mother-countries.

This rivetted opinion, that the importance of colonies can arise only from treasures dug out of the earth, has been the source of so many mistakes, that, without having recourse to that invincible steadiness, which their enemies style obstinacy, it is impossible to conceive, that so prudent and so penetrating a nation could persist in such a mistake. The mother-country of such colonies is the mistress only of mines and miners; and they are in all countries a very poor despicable people, who work not for themselves, but for those who employ them, and such as supply their wants. It is indeed true, that a certain proportion of mines, more especially of the baser and more useful metals, may conduce to the welfare of a country, and make its inhabitants rich, which more valuable mines rarely, if ever, do [w]. Yet if the same proposition be stated in other words, in the acceptation of many equivalent to the former, the Spanish deduction is perfectly right. For there can be nothing more true than this, that colonies are beneficial in proportion to the gold and silver they produce to their mother-country: but the fallacy lies here, this must not be the work of nature, but of art. Gold and silver are precisely the same thing in possession, however produced, but the gold and silver which enriches a country is not that obtained by digging, but that which is the effect of industry. The former is a kind of volatile gold, which not either law or force can retain; but the latter is so fixed and permanent, as not to be withdrawn but by superior industry [x]. These principles once understood, the reader will not be amazed, when we affirm, that these islands may be extremely rich

[w] Giovan, Francesco Gemelli Careri, Giro del Mondo, p. vi. liv. i. cap. 10. L'Esprit des Loix, lib. xxi. ch. 18. [x] Discourse on Navigation and Discoveries. Sir William Monson's Naval Tracts. Wood's Survey of Trade, p. iii.

and

and valuable, though we should allow the supposition, and it is no more than a supposition, that there is not so much as a single grain of either of these precious metals in any of them.

This archipelago of inexpressible consequence, even if destitute of mines.

These islands are unquestionably rich and valuable, because they possess almost all the blessings that the indulgence of nature can bestow. They have a soft and serene climate, not exposed to excessive heat, though in the midst of the torrid zone; and never visited by a blast of cold. Their soil is wonderfully fruitful, and from the conjunction of these they produce all the necessaries of life. Their situation again is so fortunate that, if they wanted the greater part of these blessings, this alone would compensate all their wants; for they lie at an equal distance from all the rich countries in the world, surrounded by the widest and the mildest of all seas, and capable, from thence, of the safest, the most commodious, and most extensive navigation [y]. Are these then countries to be desired? yet neither are these all their advantages; for mark but the number and the nature of their inhabitants. The latter shews us that the former must be very great; we know but very little of them, but we know enough to be sure of this; because we know that they are peaceable and prolific. In these eighty-seven islands there cannot well be fewer than a hundred thousand inhabitants. Suppose we were mistaken one half, yet fifty thousand such people, so settled, would be a prodigious acquisition. They might be easily converted to Christianity, if taught them as a system of rational happiness. There would be no difficulty in introducing improvements in their conduct of civil life, which would lead them to the discovery of more wants, but, at the same time, would instruct them how they might be supplied. They have already a great fund of industry, which is the genuine source of wealth; they have such a turn for mechanic arts as will soon bring them to perfection, and such an inclination to, and such principles of useful science amongst them, as, with a very little help, would render them a civil, polite, commercial nation in countries the best adapted to, and probably as well furnished as any with materials, for an enlarged commerce.

For in spite of suppositions, which are very far from being arguments, and still much farther from being facts,

[y] Galvano's Discoveries translated by Hakluyt. Eden's Hist. of Trevayle. Du Bois, Geographie Moderne, 701.

these

But no such supposition ought to be admitted as a fact, unproved by either probable arguments or positive authority.

these people, for any thing we know, may have gold or silver, or both; and, which is somewhat stronger than any supposition, some relations actually say that they have them. That they have spice too, is more than probable, since almost all the countries to the west of them certainly have spices, though the inhabitants, from prudential motives, chuse to conceal them [z]: but, whether they have or have not precious metals or rich spices, they may have many other valuable commodities, of which we, and perhaps they, have not the least knowlege, but which a spirit of commerce would quickly bring to light. In order to excite this, the people are not to be conquered, much less oppressed; for this would be to hatch chickens by crushing the eggs; but they are to be instructed and informed, and after that protected in the full enjoyment of their trade and freedom. This conduct would make them valuable in the strictest sense, and we shall shew very succinctly, but to a demonstration, how all this might be so conducted as to become infinitely beneficial to Spain, without trespassing in the least on the natural rights of a good-natured and active nation.

Cloves, cinnamon and nutmegs, if they do not grow in these islands, might be transplanted thither, and would certainly thrive in them.

We shall shew in a subsequent chapter, what prodigious pains the Dutch take to prevent cloves from growing in those islands, to which they were given by nature; and with what pains, as well as policy, they have secured the monopoly of mace and nutmegs, as well as with what anxiety they prevent cinnamon from being brought into Europe by any but themselves. We have already shewn in this chapter, that, notwithstanding all this care and concern, there are both cinnamon and cloves in Mindanao; and it is very certain that there is still greater plenty in the small islands of Meangis, which either make a part of this archipelago, or are within a few hours sail of it. We farther know, that the finest nutmegs in the world lie at no great distance from these islands, and yet where they are out of the power of the Dutch [a]. What then should hinder the tranplanting all these rich spices into some or other of these islands; or what should hinder them from growing when transplanted out of islands, nearly in the same latitude where they grow by nature; more especially when it is remembered that the very step we propose,

[z] Funnel's Voyage round the World, p. 157, 158, 159. Dampier's Voyage, vol. i. p. 350. Lettres edifiantes et curieuses.
[a] Galvano's Discoveries, translated by Hackluyt. Dampier's Continuation of the Voyage to New Holland, chap. iii. Histoire de l'Expedition de Trois Vaisseaux, chap. xviii. § 3.

the

the Dutch have actually taken already, and with the greatest success [b]. For managing such a design, and carrying all the arts of cultivation to the highest perfection, what nation could be wished for more fit, than, without the least thought of an attempt of this nature, these people are described to be? what, with less injury or corruption of their old manners, could supply the wants that a higher degree of civility would introduce, better than this project, if carried into execution?

There is no need of arms, of expence, or much trouble to accomplish this purpose; so that, if the sources of immense wealth are not in these islands, they may be fetched from next door. In return for the protection afforded them by the Spaniards, the natives of this archipelago might be permitted to trade to the Philippines and the Marianne islands; and the Spanish court might restrain its subjects from all commerce with them. In consequence of these regulations the people of the Philippines might revive their old trade to China with spices, and save that balance which they pay at present in silver. Returns might be made to this archipelago for spices, in piece-goods and China silks. Magazines of European commodities might be erected in the Marianne islands, and the spices that purchase them be deposited there also [c]. To bring all this to pass, there wants only an active spirit, a tolerable degree of contrivance, and a steady perseverance in those who shall attempt it.

This would prove highly advantageous to the colonies, and to Old Spain.

In reference to the European commerce, it might, with the greatest profit, and without any considerable difficulty, be carried on directly between the Marianne islands and Old Spain. The voyage might very well be performed in six, or at most in seven months, round Cape Horn, without touching any-where; or till the terrors of this navigation are totally banished. The vessels thus employed might touch at Buenos Ayres, and after refreshing there, proceed round the cape; and, having delivered their cargo from Europe, at the Mariannes, receive their cargo of spices on board, and bring them into Europe much fresher, and in a far better condition, than we now receive them, and yet afford to sell them at a more mode-

The European commerce might be carried on directly from Spain to the Mariannes.

[b] Funnel's Voyage round the World, chap. ix. Memoires sur le Commerce des Hollandois dans toutes les Etats Empires du Monde, p. 145, 147. [c] Alonzo de Ovalle Relacion historica del Reyno de Chile, lib. ii. cap. 4. Dictionnaire de Commerce, tom. ii. col. 891, 892.

rate price to those interested in the commerce by the galleons; which would abate the annual balance against Spain, and consequently preserve immense sums of silver in that country, which now go out of it. Whence it plainly appears that the Spanish subjects in America employ their labour in the mines for the benefit of strangers; who, on the other hand, by supplying their wants, acquire a just title to their commodities, gold and silver.

Or the trade may be regulated between the Mariannes and Valdivia in Chili, and be sent from Chili into Spain.

If it be objected, that so long a run as from Cadiz to the Ladrones, or from the Ladrones to Cadiz, though performed in the wholesomest climate, and with more certainty, in respect to wind and weather, than almost any navigation, will prove an insurmountable bar to almost every thing of this kind, even that difficulty may be removed. For the kingdom of Chili is exceedingly fertile, abounds with almost every thing that the carrying on this commerce would require, and have always had the obtaining a share of it in their view; for which, if we allow them to be the proper judges, they think their country extremely well situated, and apprehend no difficulties at all, as in truth there are none, in the navigation, as it would be performed from Baldivia to Guam. If therefore the returns were made to the last-mentioned city, and a few ships were annually sent thither from Spain, it might answer the purpose very well, and would certainly have very beneficial consequences, as well in respect to the commerce of the colonies as the mother-country, which will either thrive, or must dwindle and decay together; so that there can be nothing more preposterous than the apprehensions that are sometimes formed, from the flourishing state of colonies, as if the mother-country was exhausted thereby, which neither is nor can be the case: for if the latter really declines while the former thrives, this can only arise from errors in government at home, which do not affect the administration in the colonies; and, therefore, lessening the affluence of the subject, these would only increase, instead of alleviating the distress here. A truth that can never be too well known, or too much considered [d].

Even according to this scheme, the navigation round Cape Horn, or through the streights of Magellan, is still in the way. However, even that bar might be removed.

[d] Herrera, Descripcion de las Indias Occidentales, cap. xxix. Argensola, G. Battista Ramusio, cap. xvi. Wood's Survey of Trade, p. 111.

For,

For, supposing the commerce between Chili and the Ladrones to be settled in the manner before mentioned, the European commodities and manufactures might be transported from, and the spices carried to, Buenos Ayres [e]. Without affirming this to be the best, or the most eligible method of fixing such a commerce, one may safely and truly say, that it is liable to the fewest exceptions, and might be carried into execution with the smallest alterations; which will be always a point of great consequence in Spanish councils. Register ships are sent annually to Buenos Ayres, which is one of the most commodious ports in America [f]. The inhabitants of this city have a regular correspondence cross the continent with the inhabitants of Chili; and though it must be admitted that it is none of the most convenient, yet even that cannot be swelled into an insurmountable objection, when it is considered that the distance is not above a third of that between Vera Cruz and Acapulco, by which the commerce with the Philippines is at present carried on [g].

Or the East Indian commodities might be transported over land to Buenos Ayres, and from thence by sea to Cadiz.

By this last method a new and great branch of trade will be added to the Spanish monarchy, without the least diminution of any that at present subsist, and without the smallest alteration in the manner by which they are carried on; the maintaining of which is another fundamental maxim of Spanish policy; for otherwise the galleons had long ago changed their route, and gone to Buenos Ayres instead of the Havanna and Vera Cruz; more unfortunate accidents having happened between those two ports, than in the navigation between Cadiz and Buenos Ayres: and besides, one fleet then would serve instead of two. By this scheme, of transporting European commodities from Buenos Ayres to Baldivia, and from thence to the Ladrones, the exportation from Spain would be greatly encreased; her colonies on the North and South Seas would be exceedingly improved; the connection between her dominions strengthened; her navigation increased; and, of consequence, the number of her subjects, and, more especially, the number of those usefully employed; all of them objects, which, if there are any that can, may be truly said to demand their utmost attention.

Advantages from this commerce, as well to the colonies as to Old Spain.

[e] Alonzo de Ovalle, lib. ii. cap. 4. Frezier, Voyage, p. 79. Hist. Span. America, book ii. chap. 15. [f] Relation of a Voyage to Buenos Ayres, p. 25. [g] Gemelli Carreri, p vi. liv. iii. chap. 3.

CHAP. XXXII.

History of the English East India Company.

SECT. I.

Of the Charter, first Expeditions, Settlements, Rise, Progress, and Establishment of the English East India Company; together with a complete View of their Colonies, Commerce, &c. &c.

WITHOUT engaging in a long disputed political point, whether the East India trade in general, and particularly the method of carrying it on by an exclusive company, is not in itself prejudicial to the community, as well as injurious to the individual, it may not be improper to adduce, previous to our history, the allegations of both parties.

Arguments in favour of an East India trade and company.

Those who favour this trade, and a monopoly, assert, the advantages which all nations engaged in this commerce, have drawn from it. They instance the Hebrews, Tyrians, Ægyptians, Greeks, whose paths have been pursued with equal avidity by the Venetians, Genoese, Portuguese, Spaniards, Dutch, Danes, and French. Thus, by the universal consent and practice of the wisest states, do they prove the importance of this trade; than which scarce another argument is needful. But to wave authority and example; what, say they, can more contribute to the increase of our naval power, the bulwark of our state, than this commerce, in which such a number of ships and seamen are employed? What can better improve the art of navigation, than voyages along so many shores, into so many seas, through so many climates, and round the greatest part of the globe? Besides, what a flux of riches does it bring; and what useful subjects does it constantly employ, both at home and abroad? How many thousands, after amassing large fortunes in India, have returned to settle in their native country, and enlarge the common stock of wealth? What part of commerce carried on by the merchants of this island, is not in some measure dependant on or connected with that to the East Indies? How unjust is it to overlook the great quantities of home manufactures they are obliged by the terms of their charter

ter to export; and the prodigious importation of unwrought commodities, by means of this company! yet are these important particulars omitted in every estimate made by the enemies to this traffick! But it is likewise said, that the method of conducting the East India trade, by an exclusive charter, is both injurious to the individual, and hurtful to the community. Does the conduct of other nations countenance this assertion? It seems to be the universal opinion of all states engaged in this traffick, that it can only succeed by a monopoly. The real state and condition of the trade can be known; the necessary regulations and instructions given or executed, by no other means; precautions without which, this commerce must inevitably fall to ruin. Experience fully declares the inconveniences which attend the settlements of any trading companies being in possession of the crown. The ministry, aware of these, has not only granted St. Helena, but Bombay, the dowry of king Charles II. with the infanta of Portugal, to the company, for the public good. Lastly, if two companies only, say they, could not possibly subsist, which we have seen was actually the case, how is it reconcileable to reason, that a multiplicity of traders, whose interests must eternally disagree, should flourish, or indeed produce any thing but repeated losses, and the entire ruin of the trade? For these reasons they conclude, there is no alternative, but either the traffick carried on to the East Indies must be abandoned, or it must be pursued under the conduct of a company, and the method we now enjoy in common with all other nations [h].

Arguments against the trade in general.

These arguments would seem to carry weight, and the appearance of truth and reason; but they are answered by others no less specious. The enemies to this monopoly, and the trade in general, urge, that as it causes a prodigious exportation of silver, the common treasure of commerce, and the sinews of the state, it has therefore a natural tendency to impoverish and exhaust the nation [i]. That the returns from India are, for the most part, articles of luxury, of which we have no need; and that it manifestly contributes towards depriving our own poor of employment; thus compelling them to leave their country for bread; than which a greater evil cannot befal a state.

[h] See An Address to Parliament, anno 1748. Also Dodsley's History of the East Indies, vol. ii.

[i] Hume's Political Essays.

They urge, in direct contradiction to the others, that this trade, instead of a nursery, is really a grave for seamen; scarce one third of the crews returning, or escaping death, from the unwholesomeness of the climate, and length and fatigue of the voyage. Besides, this commerce, say they, differing from other branches of trade, requires no great number of shipping, employing few seamen, and is therefore of little consequence to the maritime power of the state. Even the exportation of India goods, they assert to be a pernicious circumstance, since hereby, the consumption of our own manufactures in those countries, supplied by Indian stuffs, is lessened, nay destroyed [k]. Hence the nation loses the advantages arising from the employment of its own poor, in the improvement of its manufactures, the most solid source of wealth and power. But granting the necessity of the trade, is there no method of continuing it, but by giving away the natural privilege of every free-born Briton, to a set of men who fatten on the spoils of their country, and have no other pretences to the singular protection they enjoy, than being serviceable to the views of an ambitious and designing ministry? cannot those free merchants, who conduct the other parts of this vast machine of commerce in the nation, likewise support the charge, and superintend the management of this one branch, which a few directors conduct at their ease, and with very little notion of trade? cannot the illustrious body of free merchants fit out seventeen ships, and support the charge of a few factories, with pensions for the few necessary servants; or furnish a stock sufficient for a traffic carried on by some of the poorest states in Christendom? where is the advantage or necessity of buying at the warehouses and sales of one company, all the goods of those remote countries, which the free merchants of Great Britain, the only exporters of such goods, may have occasion for [l]?

These are the arguments of those who pretend, that the trade in general is pernicious; or, at least, that the only method of rendering it beneficial, is to make it free, and lay the traffick open. We shall not pretend to decide upon the merits of either assertion.

But not to waste the reader's time upon a subject rather political than historical, we will observe, that next

[k] Child upon Trade, p. 52. [l] The Pamphlet and Hist. cited.

to

to the Dutch the English nation is justly reputed to possess the largest share of the commerce to the East Indies. Some historians allege, that those countries were not unknown to the Britons in very ancient times. The great Alfred, the ornament of the annals of this country, must, to his other virtues, have this glory superadded, of relieving poor Christians in the Indies. Sighelmus, we are told, executed this commission of the king, and distributed his charity; leaving at his death, in the treasury of the church of Sherburne, a valuable quantity of spices and jewels, an unquestionable proof of the certainty of his having performed his commission, though we are not told in what manner he carried on this traffick [m] (L). It cannot here be deduced, indeed, that there was any kind of direct commerce between this island and those remote kingdoms, nor has the assertion the appearance of truth: on the contrary, it is probable that our knowlege of the produce of the East was conveyed by the Venetians, who, with Genoa, Pisa, and other free states, had possessed themselves of this rich commerce, from the time that the Northern Barbarians had overthrown the Roman empire, and with it all the traffick of the East, which had changed its channel from Alexandria to Damascus, Aleppo, and Trebizond. From Venice this country was supplied with Indian commodities, by an annual ship of great burden, which, as the Venetians had it in their power to sell at their own price, cost the nation an infinite deal of treasure. In this condition did the Indian commerce continue till the reign of queen Elizabeth, when a Venetian carack of immense value was cast away on the Isle of Wight; the sight of which whetted the ardor of the merchants to attempt a trade by Turkey, the only route by which the East India commodities were brought to Eu-

The Indies not unknown to this nation in the time of Alfred the Great.

[m] Vit. Alfred Magni, fol. p 45. V. A Tract upon Trade, addressed to Lord Halifax, A. D, 1751.

(L) Alfred, the glory of whose reign, even the confusion of succeeding times, and the obscurity of that period of our history, has not buried in oblivion, sent this favourite ecclesiastic, A. D. 883, to carry alms to the distressed Christians of St. Thomas and St. Bartholomew, in the Indies. The fact is, indeed, pretty extraordinary; to which we should hardly give our assent, had it not as clear and distinct evidence to support it as any one point of record (1).

(1) Guth. vol. i. Rapin, vol. i. Smollett, vol. i.

rope in those days [n]. This accident gave birth to the Levant trade, and laid the foundation of our commerce with the East, which was soon after improved into a direct traffick, by means of the lights and informations communicated by sir Francis Drake, after his return from his voyage round the world, A. D. 1580.

Turkey trade.

Previous to this transaction, very extraordinary privileges were granted by the Grand Seignior for the establishment of a Turkey trade, in consequence of a treaty between the queen of England and the Porte. The Turkey merchants were at this time looked upon as the true East India traders, by means of their factories at Alexandria, Aleppo, Damascus, and the different ports of Egypt, and the Turkish dominions. However, the queen, though she had procured her subjects the liberty of trading to Turkey for the produce of the East, was sensible that something greater was still wanting to bring this commerce to a flourishing pitch [o] (M). Thorne, a London merchant, who had long resided at Seville, and there acquired some knowlege of the East India trade, had represented to Henry VIII. the advantages this kingdom might derive from the Eastern commerce; but the scheme he formed was found more specious than solid. Thorne's proposal was to open a passage by the north-west passage to Tartary, China, or Cathay, the difficulties of which have never yet been surmounted. A. D. 1576, some merchants of London, in expectation of reaping the benefit of this discovery, as it would greatly shorten the voyage, fitted out two ships under captain Frobisher; but this gentleman, as all his successors have been, was unsuccessful in three several attempts. In short, the hint communicated by Thorne,

Thorne's proposal.

[n] See Rapin under this reign. Dodsley's Hist. vol. ii. [o] Lediard's Naval. Hist. reign q. Eliz.

(M) It appears that our trade to the Levant on English bottoms was very considerable in the year 1512. Hackluyt says, that in the years 1511, 1512, &c. till the year 1534, several stout ships from London, Southampton, and Bristol, had a constant trade to Candia, Chios, Cyprus, Tripoli, and Baruth in Syria. Thence they imported silks, camblets, rhubarb, malmesies, muscadels, and other wines; sweet oil, cotton, carpets, galls, pepper, cinnamon, and other spices. Their exports consisted in home manufactures, such as fine and coarse kersies, of various colours; white western dozans; cloths called statutes, and others called cardinal whites, calves skins, and leather.

was,

was, after repeated fruitless trials, rejected as hazardous, if not impracticable. Sir Francis Drake, upon his return from his curious circuit, had the additional honour of communicating to the public the most rational intelligence as yet received, and information, which have given birth to this trade by a direct course [p]. A. D. 1582, captain Stephens went to the East Indies by the Cape of Good Hope, and sent a full account from Goa of what occurred in his voyage; but the route was still precarious, till the famous Cavendish, in the year 1587, opened a certain passage into the East, in his voyage round the world. This gentleman, after consuming a pretty fortune in a life of gallantry and dissoluteness, resolved to recover it by a voyage to the South Sea. He sailing with three small ships, equipped at his own expence, arrived on the 25th of August, 1586, at Sierra Leona; from thence he made the Cape de Verd islands, and entered the streights of Magellan by the 7th of January, 1587. Coasting directly north, he made Conception Island in March: thence he steered to Moco Nureno; thence to Paita, and at last to Puna, in 3 deg. south latitude. Getting sight soon after of New Spain, he came to an anchor in the river Copalitu, in 6 deg. north latitude. By the 3d of January, 1588, he got sight of the Ladrones; and by the 6th of March, passed the streights of Java Major and Minor. In May he came to the Cape of Good Hope; and in June arrived at St. Helena, and from thence arrived at Plymouth, in September [q].

Expedition of Cavendish.

His voyage and Sir F. Drake's.

As this voyage was highly instrumental in forwarding the design of her majesty to open a direct trade to the East Indies, we thought that tracing Cavendish in a few lines would not be disagreeable to the reader. In consequence of the lights afforded by Drake, Cavendish, and others, who had been in the East Indies, application was made to the queen by many rich merchants for a charter, empowering them to undertake this trade. In December, 1600, their request was granted, and an East India Company erected, under the title of "The Governor and Company of Merchants of London trading to the East Indies." A charter was granted, and they were formed into a body corporate, with a common seal, which they were permitted to alter at pleasure [r]. The first governor (Thomas

A charter granted to the merchants of London.

[p] Collection of Voyages from the Oxford Library, vol. viii.
[q] Led. Nav. Hist. ibid. [r] Vide Camd. Brit. p. 102 4to. Harris's Col. p. 56.

Smythe,

Smythe, Esq. alderman of London) and twenty-four directors, were nominated in the charter; a power was vested in the company to erect a deputy-governor; and also to elect for the future a governor, and all other members. The freedom was granted to them and their successors; their sons, when arrived at the age of twenty-one; to their apprentices, factors, and servants, employed by them for the space of fifteen years, in the following terms: namely, "Freely to traffick and use the trade of merchandize by sea, in, and by such ways and passages already discovered, or hereafter to be found out or discovered, as they should esteem and take to be fittest into, and from the East Indies, into the countries and ports of Asia and Africa, and into and from all the islands, ports, havens, cities, creeks, rivers, and places of Asia, Africa, and America, or any of them beyond the Cape of Good Hope to the streight of Magellan, where any trade or traffick may be used to and from every of them, in such order, manner, form, liberty, and condition, as they themselves should from time to time agree upon." They were also impowered to make by-laws; to inflict punishments, either corporal or pecuniary, provided such punishments accorded with the laws of England; to export goods free of duty for four years; and afterwards the duty of all exports which should miscarry, to be deducted from future goods when shipped. For the customs of imported goods they were allowed six months credit for half, and twelve months for the payment of the remainder, with a free exportation for thirteen months. They were also permitted to export to the amount of thirty thousand pounds in foreign coin or bullion, provided that six thousand pounds were re-coined in her majesty's mint. All other her majesty's subjects were by this charter excluded, under severe penalties, from this traffick, without the assent and leave of the Company. The charter was not to extend to any place in the actual possession of any of her majesty's allies. The Company were obliged to return, six months after the completion of a voyage, the same quantity of silver, gold, or foreign coin, as they had exported, the first voyage excepted: this proviso was likewise added, that if within the space limited by the charter, this monopoly should appear in any respect detrimental to the public, it should then, upon two years warning under the privy-seal, become null and void; but if experience proved this new corporation was for the weal and benefit of the nation, in this case her majesty passed her royal word, not only to renew

The terms of it.

Privileges.

Restrictions

renew their charter, but to add ſuch other clauſes and graces as ſhould appear moſt conducive to the intereſt of the commerce, the undertakers, and the kingdom in general, the true end of all public enterprizes[s] (N).

A ſtock raiſed.

In conſequence of this charter, the merchants of London began to raiſe a joint ſtock for the execution of the deſign, which became ſo popular, that in a ſhort time ſeventy-two thouſand pounds were paid into the treaſurer's hands. A fleet of five ſtout ſhips, conſiſting of the Dragon, ſix hundred tons; the Hector, three hundred tons; the Aſcenſion, two hundred; the Swan, of two hundred; and the Gueſt, a ſtore-ſhip, of one hundred and thirty tons; was equipped and manned at the expence of forty-five thouſand pounds, the remainder of the capital being ſent in money and goods as a trading ſtock. This ſquadron, manned with four hundred and eighty ſtout ſeamen, under the direction and conduct of captain James Lancaſter, put to ſea the 13th of February, 1601; and after a ſickly voyage, came to anchor in the road of Achen, on the 5th of June, 1602: here captain Lancaſter ſent the queen's letter and preſent by an embaſſy of ſeven of his officers and merchants to the king, which was received with great ſatisfaction and marks of favour and diſtinction. In ſhort, ſo happily did this expedition ſucceed, that a treaty was concluded with the king of Achen, and the following privileges were granted to the Company: namely, free entry and trade, duty-free, without regard to the goods imported or exported; the power of making wills, and diſpoſing of their eſtates, when, and to whom they thought fit; ample ſecurity as to all contracts and bargains; in

A.D. 1601.

A fleet equipped.

Treaty with the king of Achen.

[s] Rapin, ubi ſup. Harris's Col. p. 57, vol. i. Lediard, N. H. 377.

(N) The ſubſcriptions, or ſhares, in this company were only fifty pounds originally. The directors having a conſiderable dividend to make in the year 1676, it was judged eligible to add to the profits of the ſtock, inſtead of withdrawing them. By this the ſhares were doubled, and became advanced from fifty to a hundred pounds. Thus the original capital of three hundred and ſixty-nine thouſand eight hundred and ninety-one pounds five ſhillings, amounted to ſeven hundred and thirty-nine thouſand ſeven hundred and eighty-two pounds ten ſhillings; to which, if the profits of the Company to the year 1685, that is, nine hundred and ſixty-three thouſand ſix hundred and thirty-nine pounds be added, the whole ſtock will be one million ſeven hundred and three thouſand four hundred and twenty-two pounds.

which

which respect the natives were bound to a punctual observation of the measures of justice and fair dealing; authority to inflict punishments on their own delinquents, without appealing to the civil magistrates of the country; an assurance of steady justice in all cases of injuries received from the natives, upon complaint made; an exemption from arrests upon goods or prizes; and lastly, liberty of conscience was granted, and the undisturbed exercise of their own religion [t]. Having thus happily settled this important point, captain Lancaster finding the price of pepper high, on account of the barrenness of the preceding year, he dispatched one of his ships to the Moluccas, and erected a factory in the island of Java. His reception at Bantam was no less gracious than it had been at Achen; and so successful in every respect was this fleet, that it excited the jealousy of the Portuguese, who soon began to do the English all the ill offices in their power. After completing his business, Lancaster set sail for England, and arrived, after a prosperous voyage, in the Downs, in September, 1603, to the great joy and emolument of the company [u].

Success and return of the fleet.

James I. succeeding in the following year to the crown, his majesty gave this new establishment all the countenance shewn it by his predecessor. This, and the profits of their late adventure, determined the company to make a fresh attempt (O). Sir Henry Middleton was appointed to

[t] Harris, ubi sup. Lediard, N. H. p. 378. [u] Led. ibid.

(O) Purchas takes notice of an unfortunate voyage, begun in 1596, by captain Wood. Three ships were fitted out at the charge of sir Robert Dudley, previous to the company's charter. They sailed from England, and were designed for China, having queen Elizabeth's letter to that emperor; but not one of the company ever returned to give an account of the fate of the rest. Some intelligence of them was afterwards received, from an intercepted letter of the auditor of the royal audience of St. Domingo, and judge of Porto Rico, written to the king of Spain, and his council of the Indies. It imported, that Wood had taken three Portuguese ships, subjects to his majesty (for the crowns of Spain and Portugal were at this time united upon one head, and at war with England.) That soon after a contagious disorder prevailed in the English fleet, which swept off the whole crews, except four men, who took to the long-boat, and arrived, with some rich effects, at an island three leagues from St. Domingo.

to conduct this expedition, at the head of three ships, with all necessaries and assortments. Arriving at Bantam in December, he delivered his letters and presents to the king, which being well received, he left two of his ships to take in a cargo of pepper, and sailed with the third to the Moluccas, the natives shewing him all manner of respect and civility both here and at Bantam. The Dutch already began to view with jealousy the success of a nation, whose advantages and talents for trade were at least equal to their own. They therefore put in practice every base and mean art to prejudice them with the natives, representing them as cruel, perfidious, and ambitious; of having intentions very different from the views of fair commerce. However, in defiance of all their calumnies and aspersions, Sir H. Middleton found means of making himself acceptable to the kings of Bantam, Ternate, and Tydore [w]. The Dutch and Portuguese were at this time at war, not indeed in their own names, but as allies to the kings of Ternate and Tydore, the former siding with the king of Ternate, and the latter taking part with the sovereign of Tydore. The Dutch writers accuse Middleton of partiality against the Hollanders on this occasion, though indeed they acknowlege, that it arose from his ignorance of certain forms with which an entire stranger could not be supposed to be acquainted; therefore their own countrymen cannot be acquitted of the mean jealousy and insidious arts laid to their charge, as their only plea is a trespass arising from ignorance in the English admiral [x]. This conduct of the Dutch towards our countrymen in the very infancy of the Indian commerce, gave occasion to those disputes which ensued between both nations, and ended in the fatal catastrophe at Amboyna.

A. D. 1604.

A second expedition under Sir H. Middleton.

The conduct of the Dutch.

The poor defence of the Dutch writers who pretend to vindicate them.

[w] Led. N. H. vol. ii.

[x] Voyage Generale des Voyages par Prevost, tom. ii. p. 162.

Domingo. Three of these were surprised and murdered by the Spaniards, the fourth escaping on a piece of timber to St. Domingo. He discovering himself to the governor, revealed the whole affair; upon which Don Rodrigo de Fuentes, who commanded the party that assailed the Englishmen, was seized, and the treasure taken from him. During the prosecution against him, Don Rodrigo procured the surviving Englishman, the only evidence against him, to be poisoned; and thus perished the attempt to open a passage into India (1).

(1) Harris's Coll. vol. i. p. 57.

It

It would be unneceſſary to purſue Middleton in his voyage to the Moluccas, and through every ſtep of his conduct there and at Bantam; ſufficient it is to obſerve, that two of his ſhips having completed their cargoes, ſet ſail for Europe before his return. One of theſe was loſt in her paſſage, and the other he overtook in a diſtreſſed condition at the Cape of Good Hope. Returning from thence to England he arrived in the Downs, on the 6th of May, 1606, with letters and preſents from the kings of Bantam and Tydore to king James, and a rich and valuable cargo, ſuch as had never been ſeen from India in Engliſh bottoms[y].

His return and ſucceſs.

During ſir Henry Middleton's abſence, another fleet was ſent under John Davis, an expert pilot, to the Indies. Before his arrival at Bantam, Middleton had ſailed about three weeks for England. Sir Edward Michelbourn, who commanded in chief, but in ſome reſpects under the direction of Davis, coming into the roads of Bantam, was informed by the Engliſh factors of the arts the Dutch had uſed to prejudice them, and the danger which they ſtood in of being oppreſſed by force, if fraud could not prevail. Upon this notice ſir Edward weighed anchor, and ſteered directly to the Dutch fleet, ſending their admiral a meſſage, that if either direct or indirect methods were taken to diſturb the Engliſh factories, he would immediately uſe his power to avenge them, and ſink the Dutch fleet. In conſequence of this declaration the Dutch remained quiet during the ſtay of the Engliſh admiral, which was but ſhort; for he returned with his fleet to Portſmouth in June 1606[z], ſoon after the arrival of ſir H. Middleton.

Sir Edward Michelbourn's voyage to the Indies.

His ſpirited conduct and arrival in England.

SECT. II.

Containing an Account of Keeling's Voyage; the Conduct of the Dutch, Turks, and Portugueſe to him, and other Officers of the Company, with the Succeſs of ſeveral different Expeditions.

THE former voyages had been ſo proſperous, that the company, reſolving to purſue their good fortune, equipped a fourth fleet, under the conduct of captain William Keeling. In this expedition three ſhips were employed, and about three hundred and ten ſeamen, beſides the ſervants of the company. Upon his arrival at Banda,

Keeling's expedition to Banda.

[y] Lod. N. H. p. 390. [z] Prevoſt, l. V. 2. 174.

Keeling

Keeling found he had to combat not only the difficulties which naturally occur in a new eſtabliſhed commerce, but likewiſe to ſurmount numberleſs obſtructions laid in his way by the Dutch. Among other practices of the Hollanders one deſerves particular mention (P). The Engliſh had contracted with the natives of Pooloway, for the ſettling a factory in that iſland, which was oppoſed by all the intrigue, chicane, and tricks of the Dutch. The Engliſh, in the mean time, having intelligence that the Hollanders propoſed erecting a fort at Banda, and knowing the conſequences of it to their trade, propoſed to ſome of the chief natives, that a formal delivery of it ſhould be made to them, in the name, and for the uſe of the king of England, for a valuable conſideration, before the Dutch had entered upon the execution of their project. This propoſal was reliſhed in appearance, though in fact it was a ſecret connivance between the Dutch and the natives to deceive the Engliſh. Purchas ſays[z], that the natives actually ſigned a ſurrender, in the ſtrongeſt terms, to the Engliſh; but, be that as it may, it is certain that they deſigned nothing leſs than performing it. In fact, both the Engliſh and Bandaneſe were deceived by the cunning of the Hollanders, who treated them both with the utmoſt contempt and inſolence after their fort was completed, and they could bid them defiance. The reſentment of the Bandaneſe ſoon after confirmed the ſuſpicion of the artful conduct of the Dutch; for they put the reſident and ſeveral of the Dutch council to death; having firſt, with great addreſs, drawn them out of the fort. A general maſſacre would have followed, had not the Engliſh interpoſed, and taken the Dutch into their protection; though they were requited by unreaſonable reſtraints upon their commerce; and at laſt, by a peremptory order, to depart before they had fully completed their cargoes. However, in ſpite of ingratitude, intrigue, and

Intrigues of the Dutch.

A.D. 1607.

Reſentment of the Bandaneſe.

z V. 4. See Keeling's Voyage.

(P) On his arrival at the iſland of Nero, he delivered his majeſty's letter and preſents to the oram cayas, or *ſtates of the iſland*, which were well received. The ſame he did at Lantore, or Proper Banda, and with equal ſucceſs. Afterwards he agreed with the oran cayas of Pooloway, to ſettle a trade with them, and erect a factory there, receiving of them two hundred and twenty-five catees of mace, and thirteen hundred and ſeven pounds of nutmegs.

unjuſt

unjuſt oppoſition, this voyage proved remarkably ſucceſsful, eſpecially at the Moluccas, notwithſtanding all the attempts of the inſidious Hollanders [a].

Keeling's ſucceſs.

Keeling returned to the Downs, with a rich lading, in May, 1610; and what is very extraordinary, without the loſs of a man. Among other things, he brought home three thouſand four hundred and eighty-one bags of pepper. Captain David Middleton had been ſent by Keeling to the Moluccas, where he received part of his loading; with which ſetting ſail, he entered the ſtreights of Bangaya, receiving great marks of civility from the king of Botun, who came on board his ſhip. After completing his cargo from ſome Java veſſels, he returned to Bantam; but the admiral having departed, he ſteered his courſe for England, where he arrived after a proſperous and very profitable voyage. Captain William Hawkins had been ſent out with this fleet in quality of an ambaſſador, to ſettle a treaty of friendſhip and commerce with the Great Mogul; which commiſſion he executed with addreſs, prudence, and ſucceſs [b].

With this ſpecial privilege of exporting their goods to the extremities of the Indies, the Engliſh Eaſt India company wanted one advantage which other nations enjoyed. The Spaniards and Portugueſe had harbours of which they were abſolute maſters; forts which they had built and ſecured by garriſons and regular fortifications; whole provinces, of which they acquired poſſeſſion either by treachery or the right of war, and over which they exerted an abſolute and deſpotic ſway. The Dutch, after their example, had begun to fortify themſelves in different places, by which means they kept the inhabitants in ſubjection, and aſſumed a kind of excluſive property in thoſe places, preventing the natives from carrying on any ſort of traffick with ſtrangers [c]. The voyages of the Engliſh company were hitherto neceſſarily precarious, depending not only on the uncertainty of ſeaſons and markets, which were frequently engroſſed or anticipated by others, but alſo on the will of the Dutch and other powers, who, in conſequence of their forts, could either exclude them from, or admit them into the harbours. Thus were they ſubſervient both to the caprice of other Europeans ſettled in India, and of the natives, who frequently had a diſtaſte to Europeans of all nations. Their ſucceſs depended en-

[a] Led. N. H. 404. Harris's Coll. P. P. 79.
[b] Purchas, ibid.
[c] Recueil des Voyages, tom. viii.

tirely

tirely on chance, the civility of the natives, and the eſtabliſhed Europeans, or upon the addreſs and courage of their officers and factors; but daily experience, and the practice of other nations, ſoon convinced them of the neceſſity of ſupporting the ſimple title of merchants by power. Thus reflection, experience, example, honour, and intereſt, all coincided to make the company depart from their firſt principles, and eſtabliſh a different conduct, however they might have exclaimed againſt the uſurpations of Spain, Portugal, and the Dutch. The late treatment which Middleton met with at Banda confirmed them in their reſolution to follow the maxims of other ſtates, and oppoſe force by force: but to ſucceed effectually in this, the authority and power of a new-formed company was inſufficient, and the court was too much engaged otherways to lend the neceſſary aſſiſtance. The ſucceſs of their voyages, and the money ſaved to the nation, which foreigners were wont to drain from it by ſupplying us with their commodities; the great acquiſition of wealth and other profits to England, by the exportation of her manufactures and produce, and of India goods and manufactures ſold to other European ſtates, were indeed ſtrong arguments with the king and miniſtry, to countenance a company that appeared ſo beneficial to the public. Accordingly their charter was enlarged to what extent they required, but no national force ſent out for their aſſiſtance. However they reſolved, by perſeverance, to overcome all difficulties, and reap the fruits of ſo many advances. They now began to build their own ſhips, which they had formerly purchaſed of the Hanſe towns; a conſiderable advantage to them and to the nation in general. Two ſhips had been ſent out, in the year 1607, to the coaſts of Arabia and the Red Sea, with indifferent ſucceſs. In 1608 captain Middleton was a ſecond time diſpatched, with a ſingle ſhip, to the Moluccas, where the Dutch formed a deſign of ſeizing his ſhip; notwithſtanding which he had the addreſs to eſcape, and ſailed for England with a prodigious rich cargo, having brought home, it is ſaid, one hundred and thirty-nine tons of nutmegs, the ſame quantity of mace, beſides pepper, and other valuable commodities [d].

Neceſſity of forts and garriſons.

A.D. 1609.

The company builds its own ſhips.

Captain Middleton's voyage.

This ſucceſs inſpirited the company to higher attempts; accordingly, they built a ſhip of twelve hundred tons burthen, their firſt eſſay in naval architecture, and the fineſt

[d] Dodſley's Hiſt. vol. ii.

The company builds a ship of twelve hundred tons.

and largeſt ſhip which had ever been built in England, at the ſame time a proof of the company's wealth, and of their ſpirit for commerce. A pinnace of two hundred and fifty tons was likewiſe built to accompany her as a tender. This was then eſteemed a matter of ſo much moment and utility to the public, that the king and prince of Wales, with a great number of the firſt nobility, were preſent at their launching. So great was the magnificence of the company, and the public joy on this occaſion, that all the rich utenſils uſed at the entertainment given his majeſty on board, were left to be taken away by the by-ſtanders and populace. The greater veſſel was named by his majeſty the Trade's Increaſe, and the pinnace, called the Pepper Corn, by the prince of Wales [c].

A D 1610.

Voyage of Sir H. Middleton.

During theſe preparations two ſhips, under the conduct of captain Sharpey, were ſent to Achen in Sumatra, from whence they returned with great ſucceſs, before the other fleet was ready to ſail. Now the Trade's Increaſe and Pepper Corn were equipped for ſea, with two other ſhips, under ſir Henry Middleton, in the ſpring of the year. In Purchas and Harris, eſpecially in the former, we have a minute and circumſtantial detail of his voyage, and particularly of the ill uſage the admiral received from the Turks at Mocha; his impriſonment and eſcape; the inſolence of the Portugueſe at Surat, and the defeat of their fleet by the Engliſh; the taking of ſeveral Portugueſe and Indian ſhips, and the farther ſucceſs of the voyage. Not to paſs over all theſe circumſtances in ſilence, at Mocha, ſir Henry, after delivering his majeſty's letters and preſents to the baſhaw and aga, was received with all poſſible marks of diſtinction and friendſhip; a ſun-ſhine that was ſoon followed by a tempeſt of misfortunes. The civilities of the Turks were intended to enſnare the admiral, and to allure him and his officers on ſhore, as well as to entice their ſhips into their harbours; but diſappointed in the latter part of their ſcheme, they fell upon the admiral, killed eight of his attendants, wounded himſelf and fourteen men, and, after ſtripping them, threw them chained into a dungeon. They next made an aſſault upon one of the ſhips, but were repulſed with great loſs. Finding that open force could not reduce the ſhips into their power, they threatened the admiral with death and the torture if he did not order them to ſurrender; but Sir Henry, preferring the moſt excruciating tortures and death to an igno-

[c] Lediard's N. H. p. 417.

minious

minious life, and the loss of honour, bravely defied them, and triumphed over their menaces and cruelty. After six months imprisonment he found means, with most of his attendants, to make his escape, and arrive at the ships, which had lain in harbour on the Abyssinian shore. He had now an opportunity of shewing his resentment, which he did accordingly in a message to the aga; that if he did not instantly release the remaining prisoners, and render ample satisfaction for the damages he received, he would sink all the ships in the road, and afterwards batter the town about his ears. This menace had its effect; his men and pinnace were set at liberty, and eighteen thousand rials of eight paid him for damages [f].

Conduct of the Portuguese at Surat.

From hence he steered his course to Surat, where he was informed that the Portuguese, with a fleet of twenty ships, well provided, lay at the bar to intercept him; at least to prevent his carrying on any commerce there. Having no alternative, but either losing his voyage, or fighting his way with a greatly inferior force, he chose the latter as most honourable, and success crowned his resolution. He not only, after a sharp engagement, broke through the enemy, but entirely dispersed them, with the loss of their ships, which he took. Notwithstanding this prosperity, he still met with insurmountable obstructions from the insinuations and influence of the Jesuits; and after a series of noble but unsuccessful conduct, was at last compelled to leave Surat, without effecting any thing material to his design. Captains Hawkins, Sharpey, and the whole factory, were likewise forced to abandon it, without having time allowed them to call in their debts.

Sir Henry's revenge.

From Surat the fleet steered to Dabul, where it had better fortune; and as an addition to it, Sir Henry had an opportunity of being farther revenged on the Portuguese. Here he took two of their ships, richly laden; after which he returned to the Red Sea, and procured farther satisfaction for the damages sustained at Mocha, by seizing seventeen Indian ships, from fifteen hundred to two hundred tons burthen, all rich cargoes. As the inhabitants of Mocha were deeply concerned in this fleet, it was ransomed for a large sum, after it had been pillaged by the English seamen. From Mocha Sir Henry went to Bantam, where he died; but the fleet returned to England [g].

His death.

[f] Purchas, vol. i. Hist. of his Voyage. p 427.

[g] Led. Nav. Hist.

A.D. 1611. While Sir Henry was absent, the Globe, captain Hippon, was sent upon a trading voyage to Bantam, in which he met with numberless difficulties from the base conduct of the Dutch; one instance of which it may not be amiss to specify. The king of Narsinga, who had given the English an invitation to establish a factory in his dominions, dying while Hippon was there, the governor of the Dutch fort took the advantage of the confusion that event occasioned, to put off the payment of a just debt to the English, though they were ready to depart. Hippon tried all in his power to settle the affair by fair means; but finding this ineffectual, he determined upon force, and to seize either the governor or his son's person. The last aim he accomplished in presence of four thousand spectators, who made not the smallest resistance; and the governor was compelled to pay a just debt as a ransom for his son [b].

Hippon's voyage.

Captain Saris's voyage and success.

This year three more ships were sent out, under the command of captain John Saris; the expence of which equipment amounted to sixty thousand pounds; so that in all, the company had a prodigious venture at sea, in the bottoms of eight ships. Saris intended a trading voyage to the Red Sea, Java, the Moluccas, and Japan; in the last of which he was, if possible, to establish a commerce, which had not hitherto been attempted by the English. Saris, after visiting the kings of Firando and Goto, by whom he was favourably received, went by land to Suranga, the emperor's residence. Here he had the honour of an audience of his imperial majesty; and delivering king James's letter and present, was not only graciously received, and kindly treated, but successful in obtaining a grant for the company of certain very important privileges, together with letters and presents from the emperor and king of Firando, to the king of England, and assurances of a constant and warm friendship for his majesty (Q).

This

[b] Purchas's Pilgrim. ubi sup.

(Q) The following privileges were granted by Ogoshosama, emperor of Japan, to the East India company.

I. We give free licence to the subjects of the king of Great Britain; namely, Sir Thomas Smythe, governor, &c. for ever, safely to come to any port of our empire of Japan, with their ships and merchandizes, without any hindrance to them or their goods; and to reside, buy, sell, and barter after their own manner, with all nations; to stay

This fleet returned to England in September 1614, after having performed a very ſucceſsful voyage; but Hippon did not

ſtay here, or go at their pleaſure.

II. We grant them freedom of cuſtom for all ſuch merchandize as either now they have brought, or hereafter ſhall bring into our kingdoms, or ſhall from hence tranſport to any foreign port. And we do authorize thoſe ſhips that hereafter ſhall arrive from England, to proceed to preſent ſale of their commodities, without the expence or trouble of ſending up to court.

III. If any of their ſhips ſhould happen to be in danger of ſhipwreck, we do ſtraitly enjoin our ſubjects not only to aſſiſt them, but to return ſuch part of the ſhip and goods as ſhall be ſaved to the captain, merchants, or their aſſignees. And we do decree, that they may build one or more houſes for their own uſe in any part of our empire, and at their departure to make ſale thereof.

IV. If any of the Engliſh merchants, or others, ſhall depart this life within our dominions, the goods of the deceaſed ſhall remain at the diſpoſal of the Britiſh factors. We ordain likewiſe, that all delinquents be puniſhed by their own magiſtrates, and according to their own laws, without appeal to the civil power of the nation, which have no power over their perſons or goods.

V. We will that our ſubjects trading with them for any of their commodities, pay them for the ſame according to agreement, without delay, or return of the commodity ſo bought.

VI. For ſuch commodities they now have brought, or ſhall hereafter bring, fitting for our ſervice, and proper uſe, we will that no arreſt be made thereof, but that the price be ſettled with the company's factor, according as they ſell to others, and immediate payment, upon delivery of the goods.

VII. If in diſcovery of other countries for trade, and return of their ſhips, they ſhall need men or victuals, it is our pleaſure that our ſubjects furniſh them for their money, as their occaſions ſhall require.

VIII. And that without other paſſport, they ſhall and may ſet out upon the diſcovery of Yeadzo, or any other part in or about our empire.—— From our caſtle in Saranga, &c.

A council of merchants and officers being called, it was determined, for the following reaſons, to ſettle a factory in Firando, in Japan; namely, the encouragement which by private intelligence there was reaſon to expect in the Moluccas; the large privileges obtained of the emperor of Japan; the certain advice of the Engliſh factories at Siam and Patane; the commodities left unſold intended for thoſe parts, and the hoped-for profit

not return till the year 1616; he having spent four years in his voyage, chiefly owing to the intrigues of the Dutch, who omitted no opportunity of raising obstacles in his way [i].

But besides the obstructions and impediments thrown out by the Dutch, to prevent the progress of the English commerce in the East, their late prosperity was attended with a new inconvenience. The Portuguese used all their endeavours to hinder their trafficking upon the Mogul's coasts, a circumstance which obliged the company to be at a great expence in equipping the next fleet that put to sea, anno 1612. This armament consisted of four stout ships, well manned and mounted, under the command of captain Thomas Best, a resolute officer. Best arriving at Surat in September, applied himself diligently to the establishment of a factory, in which he was countenanced by the governor, and all the Mogul's officers in the city. But intelligence of his activity and success coming to Goa, the Portuguese governor fitted out a squadron of four large galleons, and twenty-six frigates, having on board five thousand men, with one hundred and thirty pieces of great ordnance [k]. The little English squadron was at anchor at the bar of Surat, when they first discovered a fleet of two hundred and forty Portuguese merchantmen, steering from Cambaya. This alarmed the English commodore; however, he soon perceived they had no intention to molest him. As he was comforting himself with this agreeable hope, he received advice of the armament equipped at Goa against him, which was in full sail to drive him from the Mogul's ports, notwithstanding the emperor's grant for establishing factories at Surat, Cambaya, Amadavar, or wherever else the English thought proper. Best determined to stand his ground, or perish in defence of his right. He no sooner descried the Portuguese admiral, than weighing anchor, he went to meet, and got in the midst of the fleet, before he fired a shot.

Best's voyage;

defeats the Portuguese.

[i] Harris's Collect. vol. i. p. 227. [k] Led. Hist. p. 430.

upon them, from what experience had shewn. Eight English, three Japan jarabasses, or interpreters, and two servants, were accordingly constituted, and left with the name of a factory, and with orders to make all possible discoveries of the coasts, ports, manners of the natives, and productions of the countries (2).

(2) Purchas, vol. i. p. 379.

Here

Here he poured his broadsides and small shot so thick upon the enemy, that they chose not to engage him that day; nor till the admiral had deliberated upon the manner of attacking the English fury, as he was called. The two fleets lay that night at anchor, within a small distance of each other; the Portuguese admiral holding a council of war, and Best animating his men, reminding them, that they were Englishmen, who had often triumphed over Spaniards; and telling them, that their only safety consisted in an obstinate defence, and resolute spirit; which, with their small force, and great courage, would be able to resist all the attacks of this formidable navy. Next morning, weighing anchor, both fleets engaged with great fury; the enemy relying upon numbers, and the English putting all their hopes in their valour. They plied the enemy so warmly, that three of the large galleons were driven on the sands, where the Osiander, one of the English vessels, continued pouring her shot upon them so warmly, that not a man could stand upon deck, or at the guns. In the afternoon, the galleons being a-float again, with the tide of flood, the Portuguese renewed the action, but with as little success as before; and at last were forced to sheer off with the loss of his honour, and of twelve hundred men. Sardar Chaune, a great nobleman of the Mogul's court, who happened to see the action from shore, was so taken with the bravery of the English admiral, that he sent for him, treated him sumptuously, and made him valuable presents. The Portuguese fleet, after refitting and recruiting, returned again to Surat, with intention to fight the English at sea. This design gave great uneasiness to Sardar Chaune, who did all in his power to prevail on Best to make his escape by a speedy flight; but Best's constant reply was, that numbers would never frighten him out of his duty, which he was determined to pursue, amidst every difficulty and danger. He a second time attacked the Portuguese; and in the space of four hours, drove them entirely out of sight, in presence of thousands of the natives, who crowded to the shore to see this extraordinary and unequal engagement. In short, the fame of the English hero soon reached the Mogul's court, and raised his astonishment no less than it gained his esteem; for he always imagined, that no nation was equal in skill and valour to the Portuguese at sea. The brave captain, after making the best use of his victory for the prosperity of the factory, set sail for Achen, and obtained of the king, a ratification and renewal of the former treaty

The battle.

The reputation which Best acquired at the Mogul's court.

A.D.1614. with the English. Thence he went to the island of Java, where taking on board a rich cargo, he departed for Britain, and arrived in the river in the month of July, anno 1614[1].

Sir Thomas Smythe, then governor of the company, was employed to remonstrate to the king, that it would be not only to the advantage of the company's affairs, but highly to the honour of the nation, if a person of rank and distinction were sent to the court of the Great Mogul, vested with the character of ambassador to the emperor, instead of the agent the company retained at the court of that monarch. Sir Thomas Roe was accordingly sent out in this high quality, and captain Keeling, or, as some historians affirm, captain Nicholas Downton, was ordered to sea with four fine ships, to convoy him to India; where he was safely landed, and afterwards performed his commission with great success. He attended the court for several months, ingratiated himself with the emperor, from whom he received valuable presents; and at last obtained some very considerable privileges, grants, and immunities for the British company. Sir Thomas's journal affords matter of great entertainment as well as utility; and from his account of the Mogul empire (R), did the East-India com-

Sir Tho. Roe sent ambassador to the Great Mogul.

[1] Purchas, vol. i. Prevost's Hist. des Voy. tom. ii.

(R) Sir Thomas Roe went from the Mogul's court to that of Persia; when Shâh Abbas, a prince worthy of a crown, finding the Portuguese settled at Ormuz, extremely troublesome, by the perpetual incursions of their light frigates, entered into a treaty with the English ambassador. The king offered any reasonable indulgence to the English trading in Persia, provided they would assist his land army with a fleet, to expel the Portuguese from the gulf of Persia. The conditions of this treaty were, that the shâh should defray the charges of the expedition; grant the English a free trade, without duty or impost, over all the Persian dominions; and allow them a moiety of the customs raised upon merchandize in the gulf. On the other hand, the ambassador agreed, not only to drive the Portuguese from Ormuz, but to keep constantly two ships in the gulf for the protection of the trade. In consequence of this treaty, the company immediately sent out a fleet of five ships, amounting to forty guns each, taken altogether. Shâh Abbas likewise sent an army of fifty thousand men, with trankies for transports to land them on the island of Ormuz. The English soon destroyed the Portuguese fleet; but had one of their ships sunk by the fire from

company receive very accurate and diſtinct lights into the nature of the trade [m].

Settlements of the India company.

The Eaſt India company began now to extend her power, and the ſovereignty of her mother country, over different parts of India. In the year 1616, they had ſettlements and factories at Bantam, Jacatra, Surat, Amadavas, Agra, Azmiro, Brampore (S), Calecut, Maſulipatan, Patapoli, Patana, Siam, Bencarmaſſe, Socodonia, Macaſſar, Achen, Jambe, Tewo, Ferando in Japan, Japar, Banda, [n] &c. The iſland of Banda was, by their induſtry, procured to the crown of England; the inhabitants ſurrendering it by a formal inſtrument, after their quarrel with the Dutch. Notwithſtanding this, the Hollanders ſtill attempted to reduce thoſe places under their own power, pretending they founded their claim upon a more ancient ſurrender. The Engliſh ſoon after procured Lantore, by a like ſolemn inſtrument.

Previous, however, to this event, many ſucceſsful voyages had been made to various parts of the continent, and iſlands of Aſia and Africa. Among others, in the year 1615, a ſhip was ſent, with Sir Robert Shirley and Sir Thomas Powell, ambaſſadors from the crown for the Eaſt India company, to Perſia. Nothing memorable in the voyage occurred, beſides a plot formed by the Balu-

A.D. 1615.

Sir T. Shirley ſent envoy to Perſia, on account of the company.

[m] Purchas, vol. i. Prevoſt's Hiſt. des Voy. tom. ii. Harleian. Voy. tom. viii. p. 249.

[n] Collect.

from the caſtle. In the ſpace of two months, the Portugueſe were forced to capitulate, upon no other terms, than liberty to depart without baggage. The plunder, which was equally divided between the king's forces and the Engliſh, was very great. And tradition affirms, that ſo immenſe was the quantity of bullion, that it was meaſured by long-boats. Shâh Abbas was punctual in the obſervance of his engagements, which were ſacredly kept by his ſucceſſor, till the year 1680; at which time the India company failed in their part of the contract; viz. keeping the gulf clear. It ought to be obſerved, that the Engliſh had a ſmall ſettlement on the coaſt, previous to this tranſaction, about ſeven leagues from the mouth of the gulf to the eaſtward, called Jaſques; but it was continually harraſſed by the Portugueſe (1).

(S) Calecut is the capital of Samorin, a country ſtretching along the ſea-coaſt from Ticori to Chitwa. The Engliſh had formerly a ſettlement there; which was afterwards removed to Tellichery.

(1) Hamilton's Hiſt. of the Eaſt Indies, vol. i. p. 102.

ches,

ches, a people tributary to the crown of Persia, for seizing the persons of the English ministers; but their design was defeated, and the commission of the ambassadors executed to its full extent. Next year another fleet, besides that with Sir Thomas Roe, consisting of four ships, was dispatched to Surat, and other parts of the East Indies. In October, they arrived at Surat, and found the natives and Portuguese at open war. In January, the Portuguese admiral, with a fleet of six galleons, three men of war, and about sixty frigates, bore down on the English, said to be commanded by Downton. The Hope, a ship of three hundred tons burthen, bravely began the fight, by attacking the Portuguese, before the other three English ships were come up. She fought desperately with four galleons, and was often boarded by the frigates, but as often repulsed the enemy, strewing her decks with the bodies of the slain. At last, as she was ready to sink under numbers, the English commodore came up, who soon turned the scale, obliging the Portuguese on board the Hope, to save themselves by leaping over-board into the sea. The viceroy of Goa, who was on board the Portuguese admiral, perceiving that force could not prevail against an enemy, sent numbers of fire-ships among them, which the English had the address and good fortune to escape. Defeated in every attempt, he retreated with equal dishonour and precipitation, leaving to Downton the glory of having triumphed over a fleet of ten times his number and strength. The English, having finished their commerce, set sail for Bantam; but were scarce clear of the bar, when they descried another Portuguese fleet, superior in strength to the former. After offering battle, Downton proceeded on his voyage, and arrived safe at the island of Java, where this brave officer died *. Here they found it matter of the utmost difficulty to complete their cargoes of mace, &c. without involving themselves in quarrels with the Dutch; who, they had certain advice, had exerted the most despotic tyranny and arbitrary measures over the English settlement at Macassar. At last, after completing their lad-
A.D. 1616. ings, they arrived in England, A. D. 1616, after a prosperous voyage.

Portuguese defeated by the English with great loss.

We find in Purchas, a journal of a voyage performed this year to Surat, and from thence to Jasque in Persia, by captain Child. At the former place he had an engagement with the Portuguese carracks, which lasted three days, and

* Purchas, ibid. Lediard. Nav. Hist. p. 432.

concluded

concluded in his favour; he having burnt one of the largeſt ſhips of the enemy. Purchas, Harris, and a number of other collectors of voyages, recite ſeveral letters from the Eaſt Indies, in this and the enſuing year; with particular relations of the injuries ſuſtained by our factories and trade from the Dutch. To mention them minutely, would be to write a volume, they were ſo many and various. It is ſufficient that we have it, upon inconteſtable authority, that no treachery which malice, envy, and jealouſy could ſuggeſt, was left unpractiſed. The great ſtrides the company had made towards procuring a competent ſhare in the ſpice-trade, their inſinuating manner with the Indians, and their great ſucceſs, ſerved only to haſten the deſtruction of their moſt valuable traffick (T). Repeated accounts arriving in Europe

Portugueſe carrack burnt.

(T) Mr. Thomas Spurway, factor for the Engliſh company at Banda, in a letter to his conſtituents, acquaints them, that when he was at Macaſſar with captain Courthop, in November, 1616, a large Dutch ſhip came within five leagues of land, and ſent her boat with eight men on ſhore: that the Engliſh met the Dutch at their landing, and told them, their lives were in danger, for that the king and court of Macaſſar were highly enraged againſt them, on account of ſome late outrages their countrymen had committed. While they were delivering this intelligence, the natives aſſembled about them; and the king, with a body of two thouſand men, came down to the ſea-ſide, with intention to deſtroy the Hollanders, had not the intreaties of the Engliſh prevailed and ſaved them. Next day the Dutch captain was imprudent enough to ſend another boat, with ſixteen men armed; which ſo provoked the king, that he ordered his curra curroes, or *ſhallops*, to board her, which they did, and put every ſoul to death, hewing them in pieces. This Dutch crew, upon their arrival at Amboyna, were ungrateful enough to report, that the Engliſh had ſtirred up the Macaſſars to commit this maſſacre. Spurway farther relates, that on the 24th of October, the oran cayas, or ſtates of Pooloway and Poleroon, came on board Courthop, to treat about a formal ſurrender of their iſlands to the Engliſh, in conſideration of their being protected againſt Dutch uſurpation, and annually ſupplied with rice, cloathing, and other neceſſaries by the Engliſh. Captain Courthop demanding, whether they ever had made any contract with the Hollanders, or entered upon any articles of a ſurrender, they all replied, they never had, nor would, upon any terms, with men they eſteemed their mortal enemies. In December, 1616, articles of ceſſion, or ſurrender of thoſe iſlands to the king of England, were executed by the oran cayas of the iſlands, and delivered into the hands

Europe of the divisions between the English and the Dutch settlements, negociations were set on foot for adjusting these mercantile affairs [p]. For this purpose, king James had issued out two several commissions for treaties on this head; the one in 1613, when the conferences were held in London; the other in 1615, when this affair was canvassed at the Hague; both times to no manner of effect. The Dutch even boasted, that their money could determine the English court which way they pleased; and said, that every thing there was viewed through the medium of corruption; and a certain price affixed to each of the virtues [q].

Treaties set on foot between the English and Dutch, which end in nothing.

A strong fleet sent out by the English company.

But before we enter upon the particulars of a treaty, set on foot A. D. 1619, we shall touch upon two voyages performed two years immediately preceding. A. D. 1617, the company fitted out five ships, one of one thousand tons, one of nine hundred, one of eight hundred, one of four hundred, and another of one hundred and fifty tons burthen, well armed and manned, being the most complete squadron they had ever equipped, all under the conduct of commodore Pring. After the fleet had reached a certain latitude, it divided, and branched itself into a variety of separate coasting voyages; hardly a settlement in the Indies that was not visited by some or other of the ships. The chief occurrences there were, as usual, a series of squabbles with the Dutch, in which, however, the latter generally

[p] Harleian Collection of Voyages, tom. viii. [q] Prevost, p. 229. tom. ii.

hands of captain Courthop, Mr. Thomas Spurway, and Mr. Sophon Cusake, to his majesty's use. They also delivered a nutmeg-tree with fruit upon it, and a live goat, by way of seisin; desiring to have the English colours planted on the islands, and thirty-six guns fired, in memory of this contract, cession, and resignation of their right; which were accordingly done.—We find the contract at large in the eighth volume of Osborne's Collection of Voyages; but it would be tedious and unnecessary to insert it, as the above is sufficient to evince the falsity of a fact which the Dutch constantly insisted upon. By an instrument of the same nature, the countries of Wayre and Rosingen were formally surrendered and ceded to the king of England, A. D. 1616. And the preceding year captain Castleton was at Banda, when the oran cayas of that country gave up their rights, by articles and instruments equally full and valid (2).

(2) Osborne's Collection, tom. viii.

paid

paid for their insolence; though after the departure of the ships, they seldom failed of taking their revenge upon the factories. Before the return of this fleet, two ships more were sent out in 1618, to Surat, Achen, Bantam, and other parts of the East Indies. The Dragon, one of the ships, was set upon by a fleet of six Dutchmen, just as she had got out of the harbour of Tecoo; and, after an obstinate defence, taken and condemned with her cargo; the men being treated with the utmost barbarity [r].

The Dragon Indiaman taken by the Dutch.

These perpetual contentions, and the fruitless issue of the former conferences, rendered a third negociation absolutely necessary. This treaty was managed by commissioners, appointed by the India companies of both nations, under the direction of the plenipotentiaries of Great Britain and the States General. On the 7th of July this year, an agreement was signed, by which it was stipulated, that all former injuries should be forgotten on both sides: that the companies of either nation might enjoy full and perfect liberty to trade, but without neglecting the respect due to the trading companies of two nations, joined in amity and alliances: that the prices of pepper and other commodities should be adjusted: that the islands of the Moluccas, also Amboyna and Banda, should belong to both nations conjointly, the English possessing one third of the traffic of all those places, and the Dutch the remaining two thirds: that the charge of the fortifications in those islands should be levied by an imposition on the spices of their growth; and that what related to the equipping ships of war, or others, for the protection and defence of their trade and settlements, should be committed to a council of defence, composed of persons in the service of the different companies: that the fortresses, as above, should remain in the hands of those at present in possession of them; and that such forts as had been acquired by the combined force and at the joint expence, should remain the property of both, and be garrisoned by the troops of both nations, in such manner, as the council of defence should think fit to determine: that henceforward, and in all time to come, the entire trade to India should remain free, equally to both nations; neither of them pretending to undermine or injure the other, by separate fortifications, or clandestine treaties with the natives: that to corroborate and confirm this contract, both companies should respectively solicit and move their seve-

A.D 1619.

Treaty between the English and Dutch companies.

Conditions of it.

[r] Led. Nav. Hist. p. 427.

ral

ral governments not to erect any separate companies during the period fixed for this solemn agreement: that if, through death, or any other accident, it should so happen, as that no person should remain to take care of the factories of either nation; that then, and in that case, those of the other nation, on the place, should take into their protection, and account for all the effects so left: and finally, that this treaty should remain in force for twenty consecutive years; and that all disputes arising during its continuance, which should not be accommodated by the councils of the companies, should be settled and determined by the king of Great Britain and the States General of the United Provinces. The treaty was ratified by king James in July, 1619; in which instrument his majesty promised not to grant another charter to any other persons whatsoever, during the term mentioned in the above agreement [s].

War in Java. The Dutch falsly blamed.

It was now imagined, that all disputes with the Dutch were at an end, at least for twenty years; which was very far from being the case. During this negociation, hostilities were carrying on at Jacatra, where the Dutch seized upon, and blew up, an English magazine, under pretence of their siding with the Javanese, with whom the Hollanders were then at war. It must be acknowleged, there seems to be truth and justice on their side on this occasion; for even our own journalists own, that the English fired upon the Dutch fort, and took every opportunity, under the protection of Sir Thomas Deal, who commanded a squadron of eleven sail, of retorting former injuries received from the Dutch.

Treachery of the Dutch.

What they transacted after the treaty was concluded and proclaimed in those parts, is a case of a very different nature, wherein the Dutch shewed themselves equally perfidious and inhuman. Their treacherous attempts to reduce those persons with whom they had just engaged in the most solemn alliance and obligation to defend, can admit of no palliation or apology. That their general in India should immediately upon the back of a treaty, which assured the English of all manner of security, assemble a great fleet, under specious pretences, to attack Lantore, the undoubted property of the crown of Great Britain, and commit the most savage cruelties upon the inhabitants, is an unheard of perfidy. That he should next fire the town, spoil and pillage the English warehouses, is such an outrage as

[s] Dodsley's History of the East Indies, vol. ii.

must

muſt diſgrace even a nation of Barbarians. But perhaps the moſt vile and horrible action of all is, that, after having thoroughly ranſacked, pillaged, and plundered every thing, he ſhould then proceed to the laſt inſtances of human barbarity, by ſeizing, ſtripping naked, binding with cords, and ſcourging the Engliſh factors. And that, after theſe wanton marks of a ſavage cruelty, he ſhould cauſe them to be hurled headlong from the walls; and conclude the laſt ſcene of the ſhocking tragedy by inſolently dragging the miſerable remains in chains through the ſtreets. All theſe are facts, proved upon the moſt undeniable evidence, not denied, and but very lamely excuſed by themſelves; yet never puniſhed with that vengeance becoming the character of this nation, and the freedom of this conſtitution. The factory at Poleroon ſhared the ſame unhappy fate; and thus the affairs of the company were ſuddenly plunged into greater confuſion, diſtreſs, and miſery, than they ever had undergone, and juſt at a period when they had all the reaſon in the world to expect the happieſt effects from the late treaty.

Cruel maſſacre of the Engliſh at Lantore and Poleroon.

As it is really inconſiſtent with our natural diſpoſition, to recite at large ſcenes which equally diſgrace and ſhock humanity, we muſt beg leave to refer the reader to the original papers, to be found in the eighth volume of a Collection of Travels, compiled from the manuſcripts in lord Oxford's poſſeſſion: there he will find ample ſatisfaction, and matter enough to ſatiate the moſt ſanguine and bloody nature, temper, and diſpoſition. All that the Dutch pretended to allege in vindication of theſe outrageous proceedings was, that they having a more ancient right to theſe iſlands, no ſubſequent act of the natives, who had before given up all their privileges, was of force to invalidate it; and farther, that the war being carried on againſt the natives, as principals, thoſe who had thus, contrary to their engagements, aſſiſted them, had no manner of right to complain of the event of a war of their own ſeeking. But the fallacy of this argument was irrefragably proved by aſſured evidence, that the natives had never ceded their right to the Dutch [t]; that in the former diſputes, the Hollanders pretended to no more than a promiſe from the natives, that on certain conditions they were diſpoſed to ſurrender their rights to them. That upon the quarrel between the Bandaneſe and them, ariſing from their tricks and double dealing, a ceſſion, by a formal inſtrument,

Dutch defence of their conduct.

Anſwer of the Engliſh.

[t] Dodſley's Hiſt. vol. ii.

strument, was actually made to the English; besides, all this was farther confirmed by the express terms of the late treaty. The truth is, the sweets of profit flowing from the spice trade, and their signal successes from the first institution of the company, induced the Dutch to extend their power and influence by every possible method, and at all events. They were far from being delicate in their choice of means, and expedients; a scruple seldom found to obstruct projects, where gain is the motive, and remarkably wanting in this penurious and indefatigable people; who make no difference between fraud, force, or persuasion, when the same ends were attained by either of these means.

SECT. III.

Of the farther Disputes between the English and Dutch Companies; of the Negociations, Conferences, and Treaties, to put an End to them; of the fatal Catastrophe at Amboyna, with other Particulars.

The remissness of the English administration.

WE shall shew, in our account of the Dutch East India company, how they date a sort of sovereign power in the Indies, from the first foundation of their great settlement at Batavia, and to what an astonishing power and influence they in a short time arrived. Certain it is, that, from the embarrassments, corruption, and ignorance of King's James's court, from the differences then subsisting between him and his parliament, from the artful and bold conduct of the Dutch, as well as the pusillanimity, avarice, and timidity of certain leading men in England, no satisfaction was obtained by the government, no remonstrances were made in behalf of the ruined subjects and wounded commerce, nor indeed any other steps taken which the credit of the administration, justice to the public, and the nation's honour absolutely required.

But before we enter upon the particulars of the conduct of the Dutch, we shall stop to recite briefly a voyage in which the English bravery once more triumphed over Portuguese force. In the year 1620 the company built four new ships, from eight to three hundred tons burthen. This fleet set sail in February, under the command of captain Shilling, and fell in with a Portuguese squadron off the east end of Jasques Road, where it waited to intercept the English, and ruin their Persian trade. The Portuguese fleet consisted of four galleons of forty guns,

A.D.1620

The company fits out a new fleet for the Persian trade.

guns, and three hundred and fifty men each, two galliots, and ten frigates. These being engaged by Shilling, the battle continued for nine hours without intermission, night separating the combatants. Next morning the enemy finding the English a match for them, declined renewing the fight, and had the mortification to see Shilling land the company's money and goods (the very prize they fought for), without preparing to molest him. A few days days after, receiving a supply of men and ammunition from Goa, they ventured a second time to attack the company's fleet; but with less success than before, two of their ships being sunk, the rest greatly damaged, and a number of their men killed and wounded. The English sustained hardly any other loss besides that of the brave Shilling, their commodore, who was mortally wounded by a musket bullet. After this engagement the fleet took two rich Portuguese carracks, and then separated upon different voyages [u].

Portuguese defeated.

But to return to the affairs of the company towards Java, Banda, and Amboyna: the remissness and want of vigour in the English administration, encouraged the Dutch to execute a project they had long formed, of wresting the spice trade wholly out of the hands of the English company. They proceeded, in the year 1623, to commit, if possible, greater barbarities at Amboyna than two years before they had perpetrated at Lantore and Poleroon; their actions in each being just matter of reproach to human nature. The island of Amboyna, which is forty leagues in circuit, is situated near Seron, giving name to some other little island in its vicinity. Its chief production is cloves, the principal subject of its traffick; and in order to collect and buy up this commodity, the English company had planted in it no less than five several factories, the chief of which was at the city of Amboyna. Here the agents of the company resided, and from hence directed the subordinate factories of Hitto and Larica on the same island, and of Lobo and Camballo, situated on a promontory of the adjacent island of Seron [w]. The Hollanders had four different forts, well provided with men, stores, and ammunition. The chief strength was at Amboyna, where the fortifications were strong and regular, well mounted with a great number of brass ordnance. One side of the fort was defended towards the land by a

Designs of the Dutch.

[u] Led. Naval Hist. p. 452. [w] Salmon's Mod. Hist. vol. i. p. 124. fol.

State of the island of Amboyna.

broad and deep trench, filled by the sea, together with a number of batteries and redoubts at proper distances; the other side was washed by the ocean. It was garrisoned with two hundred Dutch soldiers, a company of free burghers, and four hundred mardykers, who had been taught the use of arms, and were obedient to the Dutch governor. The ships, which constantly lay in the road, either for traffick or the defence of the fort, added to its security; this being the rendezvous for the trade of Banda, as well as that of the rest of Amboyna[x]. As hostilities had ceased from the time of the massacre at Lantore, the English lived in the town, under protection, however, of the citadel, in perfect ease and security, both from the late treaty, and from the ancient amity between both nations. The conduct of the Dutch at Lantore was attributed to the rashness of some of the English factors, as well as to the brutal ferocity of the Dutch governor; but from hence no deduction was made to the prejudice of the Hollanders in general, especially as many of the Dutch at Amboyna exclaimed with great warmth against that action. In short, every thing contributed to lull the English into a security which soon terminated in their ruin.

Security of the English factory at Amboyna.

Complaints of the English factors with the Dutch referred to the council of defence.

Near three years were elapsed since the conclusion of that treaty between the two companies, when fresh cause of discord arose. The English factors complained of the unreasonable and unnecessary charge which the Dutch pretended to have incurred in repairing and maintaining the fortifications and garrison. They alleged that the Hollanders answered their own proportion of the expence in provisions and cloth of Coromandel, at three or four times the prime cost; whilst ready specie was insisted upon from the English. By such proceedings it was affirmed, the latter were made to pay two thirds of the charge, which ought to have been equal and common to both. Perpetual disputes resulting from this grievance, the affair was at last carried before the council of defence at Jacatra, in the island of Java; but the council not being able to bring it to a final determination to the satisfaction of all parties, the state of the case was remitted to Europe, to be laid before the companies, or, in the dernier resort, to be adjudged by the king of England and the States General, in terms of agreement for that effect[y].

[x] Salmon, ibid.

[y] See Journals of Hayes and Courthop in Harris, vol. i.

During

During the deliberations in Java and Europe, the breach at Amboyna grew ſtill wider; the Engliſh more loudly complaining of the oppreſſion of the Dutch; while they, on the other ſide, exclaimed againſt the Engliſh, for their unwillingneſs to ſupport the expence of a fortreſs, of which they equally ſhared the advantages: but though thoſe mutual accuſations were warm, no danger was apprehended of an open rupture, nor indeed of any ſecret practices againſt each other. The following incident, however, ſhews the deceitfulneſs of thoſe appearances of tranquility.

A ſoldier of the Dutch troops, by nation a Japaneſe, came one night to a centinel, poſted on the wall of the citadel; and amidſt other diſcourſe with him, happened to aſk ſome queſtions concerning the ſtrength of the fortifications, the number of cannon, and of the garriſon; queſtions extremely natural for a ſtranger, who had no farther intention than the bare gratification of his curioſity. This fellow had been occaſionally, amongſt others, introduced into the citadel, to relieve the garriſon in the day; the Japaneſe troops not being permitted to remain in the fort at night, as not being confided in equally with the Dutch. An officer, who had ſeen the centinel in converſation with the Japaneſe, interrogated him concerning the ſubject of their diſcourſe; and being informed, he laid the whole before the governor, who had the Japaneſe ſeized, upon a ſuſpicion of a treaſonable deſign againſt the citadel. Being put to the torture he was compelled, by the inſupportable torments he underwent, to acknowlege himſelf, and ſome others of his countrymen, guilty of the crime laid to his charge; upon which the ſuppoſed accomplices were ſeized and put to the ſame trial, together with a Portugueſe, who ſuperintended the Dutch ſlaves. This examination laſted four days, during which the Engliſh went, as uſual, to the citadel. As they were not conſcious of guilt they apprehended no danger, though they ſaw the priſoners, and heard the cauſe of their torture. They were, in fact, entire ſtrangers to the Japaneſe and Portugueſe, who were then under puniſhment. It this time Abel Price, formerly a ſurgeon to the Engliſh factory, was priſoner in the citadel, for having threatened, in a drunken frolic, to ſet fire to the houſe of a Dutchman, againſt whom he had ſome pique. Price being dragged from the dungeon where he lay, ſaw the Japaneſe groaning under the agonies of the torture he recently underwent, and was peremptorily told, that the Engliſh were accuſed, by thoſe two wretches, of being confederates in

A recital of the horrid maſſacre of the Engliſh at Amboyna.

the conſpiracy; and that, unleſs he confeſſed the guilt, he ſhould ſuſtain equal, if not more exquiſite tortures than thoſe he had before his eyes. Such menaces, ſuddenly followed by execution to the utmoſt rigour, ſoon overcame the conſtancy and conſcience of the miſerable wretch; who, in hopes of being relieved from the rack, anſwered every queſtion in the manner the judges required [z]. Immediately upon this confeſſion captain Towerſon, and the reſt of the Engliſh, were ſent for; who having no notice of what paſſed concerning Price, or ſuſpicion of what was intended, immediately obeyed the ſummons, all excepting two, who remained in the factory upon ſome buſineſs. As ſoon as they arrived they were informed of the charge againſt them, and cloſely confined in irons. Towerſon, with one more, was kept priſoner in the citadel; and the reſt were put in irons on board the ſhips in the harbour. Theſe proceedings were followed by ſeizing thoſe who remained in the factory, together with the goods, money, cheſts, boxes, books, writings, and other effects. On the ſame day the Engliſh at Hitto and Larica, and, a few days after, the factories of Lobo and Camballo, were treated in the ſame manner, the company's ſervants being brought in irons to Amboyna.

All the Engliſh ſeized and put to the torture.

They were no ſooner in cuſtody than the governor and fiſcal proceeded to their examination, when John Beaumont and Timothy Johnſon were firſt called upon. Thoſe wretches were brought from the ſhips to the citadel, and immediately ſeparated; Johnſon being brought to the rack, while Beaumont was placed in an adjoining apartment, from whence he could hear the ſcreams and diſmal groans of his companion at every application of the torture. When he had fully experienced the torments they could inflict, Price was brought in to confront him; but Johnſon perſiſted in denying every thing laid to his charge; upon which Price was ordered out, and put again to the rack. For above an hour he obſtinately continued to aſſert his own innocence and ignorance of the whole affair, in defiance of all the anguiſh of the torture; when at laſt, drenched over with water, he was moſt cruelly ſcorched and burnt all over his body, and in this condition thrown into a corner, where a guard was ſet over him [a]. Nothing could exceed the inhumanity, cruelty, and barbarity of the judges, but the conſtancy of ſome of the accuſed.

[z] Collect. Voy. from W. Hadley's Lit. tom. viii. p. 227. [a] Dodſley's Hiſt. of the Eaſt Indies, vol. ii.

Emanuel

Emanuel Thomſon ſucceeded Johnſon, and his puniſhment was equal in degree, but not in duration, to the former, he being tortured for no more than half an hour, and then flung aſide to make room for Beaumont, who had all this time been within hearing of his piteous ſhrieks. While they were equipping Beaumont for the torture, he began denying, with horrid imprecations and oaths, the whole charge; upon which he was, for this time, diſmiſſed, the governor pretending to be moved with compaſſion at his extreme old age. Next day nine more were brought from the ſhips; when Edward Collins denying with deep execrations the whole allegation, was tied hand and foot to the rack, a cloth bound round his neck, whilſt two men, with earthen jars of a prodigious capacity, ſtood ready to pour the water into it. The ſight of this torture made him pray for a reſpite, and promiſe of an entire confeſſion; but no ſooner was the cruel apparatus removed, than he again aſſerted his innocence with redoubled vehemence. The fiſcal, enraged at his perſeverance, ordered the torture to be again applied, on which he repeated his requeſt and promiſe; but, ſaid he, as I know the torments you can inflict, I am ready to confeſs whatever you are pleaſed to deſire, if you will firſt oblige me, by telling me what I am to ſay. Then pauſing for ſome time, he proceeded to relate, that ſome months before, himſelf, together with ſome others of the priſoners, had conſpired to ſurpriſe the citadel with the aſſiſtance of the Japaneſe. He was interrupted by the fiſcal, who aſked if Towerſon was not a confederate in the plot; to which he anſwered no. The fiſcal then told him he lied, and inſiſted upon his acknowleging, that this Towerſon had called all the Engliſh together, and told them that the abuſes and inſolence of the Dutch had obliged them to think of that plot, which wanted nothing to render it ſucceſsful but their conſent and ſecrecy. A Dutchman, who was preſent, interrogated him, whether they had not ſworn ſecrecy on the Bible? Collins, with vehement oaths, declared that he was utterly ignorant of any ſuch matter; but upon their ordering him to be tortured, he recanted, and ſpoke as they prompted. He was then aſked, whether the reſt of the Engliſh factories were not conſenting to this plot? whether the Engliſh preſident at Jacatra, or Welden, their agent in Banda, were not privy to the conſpiracy? To all which interrogatories he anſwered in the negative. Being ſtill interrogated by what means the Japaneſe were to have executed their purpoſe? and unable to give an anſwer,

Method of queſtioning by the torture.

The ſcandalous conduct of the Dutch fiſcal.

the fiscal helped him out, by asking whether two of the Japanese were not to have gone to each point of the citadel, and to the door of the governor's house, ready to murder him, when he should come out to enquire into the cause of the tumult, which was to have been raised without? A by-stander, irritated by this method of proceeding, called out to the fiscal, that he should cease to tell the criminal what he was to say, and let him speak for himself; upon which that equitable judge dropped the question in hand, by enquiring what reward the Japanese were to have for their service? Collins answered, a thousand rials; but unable to say any thing concerning the time of executing the plot, or any other particular that could give it an air of credibility, he was dismissed [b].

The person next questioned by this hellish apparatus was Colson, who was so terrified with the sight of the rack, and the torments inflicted on his companions, that he answered in the way he thought would be most agreeable to his judges; though after coming out, he fell down upon his knees, asking forgiveness of Heaven for the untruths he had alleged, and deeply protesting his innocence and entire ignorance of the suspected conspiracy [c]. John Clark, who succeeded Colson, was not so easily terrified and brought to submission; this man for two full hours withstanding the most excruciating tortures applied by fire and water, to compel him, through agony of pain, to confess what he was ignorant of. To give the reader a faint idea of Dutch barbarity, we will briefly relate the method in which his judges proceeded in the examination of this miserable man: his arms were fastened at as great a distance as they could extend them upon a large door, by means of iron staples drove into the extremities of it; his legs being stretched out in the same manner, a cloth was bound round his face and neck, so close as to contain the water poured into it: then did the executioners pour jars filled with water into the cloth, which rising above his nostrils and mouth, obliged the unhappy sufferers to draw it in, with every attempt to breathe, in large quantities, till by repeated draughts he was so glutted, that (what is shocking to imagine) his bowels seemed to burst out at his mouth and nostrils, his body to be swelled to twice its dimensions, his cheeks inflated like bladders, while his eye-balls were ready to start from their orbs. Thus was this miserable creature handled, and then taken

The English tortured by fire and water.

[b] In Collect. cited, ibid.

[c] Salmon, ibid.

down

down to prepare him for a ſecond trial, by making him diſgorge what had coſt him ſo many naufeous and painful draughts. After he had ſuſtained his ſecond trial with equally aſtoniſhing conſtancy, the fiſcal and his tormentors cried out, that this muſt be an enchanted perſon, a witch, or devil, to ſupport ſuch inſufferable torments. Imagining the incantation might reſide in his hair, he ordered it to be cut off, and a third exertion of inhumanity was made: he was hoiſted up as before, when thoſe more than ſavage wretches cauſed burning torches to be held to the ſoles of his feet, till they were extinguiſhed by the fat that dropped from him: then freſh lights were applied; but this repetition failing alſo, they began to extend their diabolical barbarity to the other parts of his body, by ſcorching the palms of his hands, his arm-pits, and elbows. Exhauſted at length, and overcome by torture, he ſeemed willing to yield; but not being able to frame a relation, in ſuch manner as to make it at all probable, his judges were reduced to the neceſſity of leading him, by queſtions ſo deviſed, as to render it impoſſible for him to miſtake their meaning [d]. However, with all their cruelty and cunning, all they could draw from him conſiſted in bare negatives and affirmatives, he juſt aſſenting with a yes or no, to whatever they ſignified to be agreeable to them. Thus treated, he was carried out by four blacks, and thrown into a horrid dungeon, where he lay, without the aſſiſtance of a ſurgeon to dreſs his ſores, till his fleſh putrifying, he was filled with maggots, in a manner moſt loathſome and barbarous. Thus ended the Chriſtian work of Sunday, it being dark before his examination was finiſhed. The priſoners brought from Hitto, who had all this time waited their own turn of ſuffering, were remanded to priſon, and thrown, loaded with irons, into the ſame dungeon with Clark and his fellow ſufferers [e].

Next morning William Griggs, John Fardo, and ſome Japaneſe, were brought to the place of torture. The Japaneſe were conſtrained by numberleſs acts of barbarity to accuſe the two Engliſhmen; and Griggs, to avoid the ſame torments, confirmed their allegations. The ſame conduct was obſerved with regard to the other Japaneſe and Fardo, though this latter continued obſtinate in his denial of the charge, till he had ſuffered the torture by water. Upon their confeſſion, they were remitted back

[d] Dodſley's Hiſt. of the Eaſt Indies, vol. ii. Harl. Collect. Voyag. vol. viii. p. 246.

[e] Dodſley, ibid.

to prison, and Beaumont brought a second time to the torture. Griggs was produced to confront and charge him with having been present when the conspiracy was formed, an allegation which he denied with deep execrations and tremendous oaths, till plied with repeated draughts of water, he was compelled to submit: yet the moment he was brought down from the rack, he not only declared in the most positive terms, that all he had confessed was false, but also impossible, as he made appear from a variety of circumstances. However, the terror of a repetition of the torture made him sign his confession; which being done, an iron bolt of intolerable weight, and two shackles, were rivetted to his legs, and he was remanded to the loathsome dungeon from whence he had come[f].

The next person brought to judgment was Mr. George Sharrock, some time an assistant at Hitto. This unfortunate gentleman was no sooner brought to the place of torture, than he sent up a prayer to God, that in order to shun the grievous torments his countrymen had sustained, he would enable him to frame such probable falshoods against his own conviction, and the innocence of his companions, as might serve at once to persuade his judges, and deliver him from the torture. When he was brought to the rack, where the tormentors stood ready with pitchers of water and lighted tapers, the governor and fiscal proceeded to examine him; but Sharrock's conscience overcoming his fear, he fell down upon his knees, protesting before God and man his innocence, with an earnestness that would have staggered persons who were not proof against conviction, conscience, and the feelings of humanity. He was therefore questioned by the torture, and told, that if his confession was not ample and complete, he should first be tormented with all the powers of fire and water, and then dragged by the heels to end his life on the gallows: still, however, persevering in his innocence, the fiscal ordered the horrid operation to be performed; upon which he requested a moment's respite, alleging in his vindication, that he was at Hitto on New-year's day (the day on which the pretended conspiracy was supposed to have been planned) from which time to the present, he offered to prove, by witnesses of good credit and faith, both Dutch and English, he had never been at Amboyna; but upon a renewal of their menaces, he told

The remarkable conduct of Sharrock.

[f] Salm. Mod. Hist. vol. i fol. p. 136.

them

them that he had often heard Clark say that he would be revenged on the Dutch, for the insufferable wrongs they had done the English; for the execution of which revenge, Clark said, he had proposed an excellent plot to captain Towerson. All this while the governor and fiscal expressed their satisfaction in his plausible tale by significant gestures and joy in their countenances. Sharrock added, that Clark said he had intreated permission of Towerson to go to Macassar, to consult with the Spaniards proper measures for seizing upon the lesser factories in the island of Seran and Amboyna, when no ships were there. Being asked what answer Towerson gave to Clark's proposal, he replied, that Towerson was to the highest degree incensed against him for harbouring such a villainy, and never afterwards could endure the sight of Clark. The fiscal, displeased with this latter part of the confession, told him in an enraged tone, that he lied, and threatened him afresh with the torture [g]. Sharrock then once more begged a respite, and began a tale quite different from the former, importing, that upon a certain day Clark told him of a conspiracy to seize the citadel, and asked him to be of the plot: to this question he replied, by enquiring if captain Towerson was privy to it; to which Clark answering in the affirmative, he, Sharrock, consented to do as others did. Thus he proceeded, varying in other particulars from the confession they wanted him to make; so that despairing to gain their ends with him, he was remanded back to his dungeon, whence he was brought the day following, and compelled by menaces to sign his confession, though he told the fiscal to his face, that what he signed to avoid torture was absolutely false, and without the least foundation. The fiscal reproaching him with lying, he broke out into bitter invectives, accusing him of shedding innocent blood, which, said he, you must answer to your God at the day of judgment [h].

Just in the same manner they proceeded with the other prisoners, forcing them by unsufferable barbarities to a confession; and when the extremity of torture deprived them of their senses, dictating to them the confession they would extort.

On the 25th of February, all the prisoners, English, Portuguese, and Japanese, were solemnly condemned to death, some only excepted, who incontestibly proved A.D. 1622.

[g] Dodsley, ibid.

[h] Vide vol. ii. of the Harl. Collect. of Voyages, p. 222.

their

their being at Hitto at the time of the pretended conspiracy. The day following they were brought into the great hall, to be prepared by the Dutch ministers for the awful transition; Mr. Towerson and Thompson being excepted in the number. Here the unhappy English accused the Japanese of having brought to misery and death men they had hardly ever seen, nor ever conversed with; a charge which the others excused, by shewing the wounds received by the torture; adding, that flesh and blood could not withstand a trial, which would even change the nature of stones, and make inanimate things feel. Collins and Beaumont were respited and pardoned, the first having drawn lots with four others, and the latter owing his life to the intreaties of two Dutch merchants. The remaining ten, with one Portuguese, and eleven Japanese, were led next day to condign punishment, all of them protesting their innocence with their last breath[1]. Thus fell the English factors victims to the avarice, jealousy, resentment, and barbarity of the Dutch company, with circumstances of cruelty which leave an indelible stain on the reputation of that people, and will ever be just matter of reproach, disgrace, and infamy to human nature, as well as of eternal resentment and animosity in the English nation.

The English executed.

Rejoicings of the Dutch.

The day following was spent, by order of the governor, in public rejoicings and thanksgivings, for so signal an escape and deliverance from a pretended conspiracy, and for the iniquitous extirpation of their rival traders. On the succeeding day, Beaumont, Sharrock, Collins, and Webber, were brought before the governor, who informed Sharrock that he was to go to Jacatra, and rely upon the general's mercy; and the rest, that they were pardoned by his own grace and compassion. He then entertained them with wine, and other instances of a false and treacherous regard.

The Dutch governor and fiscal proceed to Banda.

Business being thus ended at Amboyna, the governor and fiscal proceeded for Banda, where, after the severest scrutiny into the conduct of Mr. Welden, the English agent, nothing was found that could in the least justify a suspicion, or answer their purpose: they therefore returned, happily disappointed of their cruel intention of repeating the late horrid tragedy. Welden perceiving the disorder of the company's affairs at Amboyna, hired a vessel, and directly sailed thither. Having arrived, he

[1] Ibid. etiam. Dodsl. Hist. East Ind. tom. ii.

sent

sent for the company's servants, remanded by the Dutch governor to the upper factories, and minutely examining them, and comparing their report with the dying declarations of those who were executed, he could not doubt of its being a premeditated scheme of the governor's to ruin the English trade there. Finding it neither consistent with the honour or interest of the company, or safety of the factors, longer to reside there, he withdrew the poor remnant of English, and embarked them along with him for Jacatra. As for the company's effects which had been seized, we do not find that he ever could prevail upon the Dutch governor to restore them[k]; a circumstance which, without farther proof, would condemn the Dutch, and leave no doubt of their intentions in the mind of any unprejudiced or impartial judge. The fatal news no sooner reached the English at Jacatra, than the president and council, moved with horror at the barbarity of the proceedings of the governor and fiscal at Amboyna, sent to demand of the Dutch general by what authority the governor and fiscal carried their savage usage to such an extreme against the English, and whether he approved of their conduct? The general's answer was, that the governor of Amboyna acted in consequence of a power vested in him by the lords the States General, by virtue of which he was supreme in all cases, civil and military, within the jurisdiction of his government. Farther, that his proceedings against the English traitors were not only just, but indispensably necessary, as might be seen by the copy of their confession, which he, the general, transmitted to the English president and council.

The English factory withdrawn from Amboyna.

The English council at Jacatra demand justice.

Answer of the Dutch.

Thus it appears, that the massacre at Amboyna was not the wanton act of the governor and fiscal, though their natural dispositions might add to the cruelty of the circumstances; but the cool, deliberate, and concerted measure of the Dutch company, afterwards countenanced and supported by the States General, by a thousand arts and subterfuges, by false glosses, and spurious copies of extorted confessions. The first true declaration, as it is called, of the conspiracy, transmitted to Europe, June 1624, by the Hare pinnace, is a notorious and base forgery, wherein the confessions of the unhappy English are interpolated, mangled, and castrated, in such a manner, as to set the governor's conduct in the best view; but happily, as murder will ever discover itself by some unforeseen cir-

Conduct of the Dutch.

[k] Led. Nav. Hist. sub an. 1622.

cumstances,

cumstances, this copy of their confession differs widely in the most important particulars from that sent to Jacatra, and from the original, which was by order transmitted the following year[l].

Arguments why the Dutch conduct is suspicious.

The Dutch had many motives to tempt them to a piece of cruelty from which they apprehended no consequences which their power, their cunning, and their wealth could not obviate. Their unbounded avarice; their eager desire to possess the whole trade of the Moluccas, Banda, and Amboyna; their constant jealousy of the progress the English made in the East India trade, together with many other circumstances, induce us to believe, that a nation, the very basis and foundation of whose power is the quest of money, would not be scrupulous or delicate in an affair which so cheaply procured to them so great an advantage[m].

Character of the nation.

The phlegmatic, cold, and determined disposition of the people of that country, renders actions perfectly consistent with their character, which would be hardly credible of other nations. Perhaps the lenity, indolence, corruption, and timidity of the English court, might be a collateral inducement with them to venture upon an expedient equally important to their interest, and shameful to this nation.

Character of king James and his ministers.

The king, whose weakness could be exceeded by nothing but his conceit, could at any time be diverted from the pursuit of glory and national interest, by a theological disputation, where he was admitted to the princely honour of sitting as arbiter, while his ministry, as covetous as indigent, would sacrifice the good of the state, the honour of the kingdom, and their own reputation, to the sordid purposes of gratifying an insatiable lust of money. But besides the unanimous denial of all the prisoners, English and Japanese, at their last moments, not one paper, letter, or token, was found by the Dutch, to countenance their suspicions, after they had seized, ransacked, and plundered all the chests, boxes, and cabinets of the factors. From these, and an infinite number of other presumptions, the English company, the nation, and indeed all Europe, naturally concluded the plot to be on the side of the Dutch; and indeed if the above circumstances were insufficient to prove it, their seizing upon all the English factories in the spice islands soon after this catastrophe, falls little short of a demonstration of their intentions.

In this manner, and by these methods, were the English company driven out of the spice islands, which the

[l] Collect. of Voy. Harl. Lib. tom. ii. [m] Sir W. Temple's Hist. of the Netherlands, p. 36.

Dutch

Dutch engroſſing to themſelves, have remained the ſole poſſeſſors of to this day. The death of king James ſoon after the affair of Amboyna put an end to any proſpects of remedying this diſaſter. The early embarraſſments and diſturbances which were tranſmitted with the crown to his ſucceſſor, diſabled that prince from paying proper regard to the commercial intereſts of the nation. True it is, he granted letters of requeſt, which were preſented to the States General, for obtaining ſuitable ſatisfaction to the Engliſh Eaſt India Company, for their injuries and loſſes by the governor of Amboyna[n]. This meaſure, however, had not the deſired effect; nor did the king purſue it, in hopes of finding a favourable opportunity of being revenged by giving ſome ſignal blow to the Dutch maritime force; ſuch a blow as might for ever put it out of their power to interrupt the Engliſh commerce, or to execute their favourite ſcheme of dividing the Spaniſh Netherlands with France; a ſcheme by which they hoped, in confederacy with that court, to diſpute the Engliſh title to the ſovereignty of the narrow ſeas[o].

Reaſons why the company received no recompence or ſatisfaction for the injuries and loſſes they ſuſtained.

But the cruelty and uſurpations of the Dutch were not paſſed over entirely unobſerved by our princes. James the Firſt, inſenſible of national honour as he was, is ſaid to have beſtowed ſeveral hearty execrations upon them; but his ſpirit would ſeem to have evaporated there. Charles the Firſt, finding remonſtrances, letters of requeſt, and memorials, ineffectual, was on the point of increaſing his ſhipping, and calling the Dutch to an account; but that unhappy prince was firſt prevented by the heats about ſhip-money, and afterwards by the civil war which enſued. As the nation and government were reduced to the utmoſt confuſion, nothing farther could be expected under this reign, during which the Dutch company was left in the quiet poſſeſſion of this valuable branch of commerce. After the king's death, the rump parliament demanded ſatisfaction, and the Dutch were ſenſible it was not to be trifled with; inſomuch that they promiſed ſpeedy juſtice. The ſhort duration of the parliamentary authority prevented the effects, and Cromwell, for ſome ſecret purpoſes, was ſtopped in his career of compelling them to a full compenſation and ample redreſs. Charles the Second entered into two wars with Holland, for this among other reaſons; and nothing but the national apprehenſion of the

K. James the Firſt's execrations.

Charles the Firſt's remonſtrances to the States General.

The rump parliament reſolves to call them to an account.

[n] Dodſley's Hiſt. of the Eaſt Indie, tom. ii. [o] Vide two fine Treatiſes, called Mare liberum, and Mare clauſum, by the famous Grotius and Selden.

growing

growing power of the houſe of Bourbon, has prevented their being long ago forced to make reſtitution of Banda and other valuable iſlands [o].

Decline of the Engliſh Eaſt India trade.

From the time of the maſſacre at Amboyna, the Engliſh Eaſt India trade wore another face from what it had done, and began to decline apace; the ſeverities of the Dutch terrifying the company from engaging in diſputes they were unable to maintain, and their ſervants refuſing to ſettle in colonies where their property and lives were in continual danger. But before we proceed farther in the affairs of the company in the iſlands, it may be proper to mention ſome circumſtances wherein the Dutch and they acted as allies in the gulf of Perſia, at Ormuz, and at Surat. In January, anno 1625, four Engliſh ſhips, under the command of captain Wieldel, lying in the road of Gombroon, with an equal number of Dutch veſſels, were attacked by a ſtrong Portugueſe ſquadron. Such was the ſituation of affairs at that time, that while the Dutch and Engliſh were embroiled and at perpetual war in the Moluccas, the Portugueſe were uſing their utmoſt endeavours to diſpoſſeſs both of their trade on the continent, both in Perſia and the Mogul's country. Here the Engliſh and Dutch acted as faithful allies againſt a common enemy; there as open enemies, yet under the maſk of friends, and while a treaty ſubſiſted between the nations. In this engagement both the Engliſh and Dutch admirals eminently diſtinguiſhed themſelves againſt a greatly ſuperior force of the enemy. The battle continued for four ſucceſſive days, without terminating in a victory on either ſide, though the Engliſh company ſuſtained a conſiderable loſs in having one of their fineſt ſhips burnt; but with this ſatisfaction, that the loſs of the enemy was ſuperior, and their ſettlements at Surat and other places in the gulfs of Cambaya, Ormuz, &c. left unmoleſted [p]. Several other engagements happened, in which the Portugueſe generally had the advantage of a ſuperior fleet, but no other. As theſe were not attended with any deciſive or important conſequences to the company, we ſhall omit them, leaving the reader to the peruſal of Harris's Collection of Voyages, wherein he will find a full account of them.

Engliſh and Dutch engage the Portugueſe.

While the Engliſh were attacked on all hands, either by force or fraud, by open enmity or treacherous profeſſions

[o] Rapin's and Guthrie's Hiſt. of England.

[p] Lediard's Nav. Hiſt. ſub an. 1625.

of

of friendship, the company's affairs began to have a very untoward aspect, and to be in a situation little better than ruinous. In order to remedy this growing evil, Charles thought proper to accept proposals of certain merchants of London, to send a squadron into the Indies, to revive the commerce, but without prejudice to the rights or interest of the company. Although this was an infringement of the company's charter, yet it was not only not opposed, but even forwarded by them; they well knowing their own inability to support themselves alone against the power of the Dutch, and that upon the success of this squadron depended their future prospects of advantage. A commission therefore was issued to certain persons therein specified, to send a determined number of ships to the East; in consequence of which, six large ships were fitted out [q]. We are not informed in what particular year this expedition was undertaken; but from circumstances, it seems to appear to be that so strongly patronized by prince Rupert, when a settlement in Madagascar was intended. Sir William Courton, one of the great promoters of this scheme, advanced, on his own part, a prodigious sum, amounting to one hundred and twenty thousand pounds, towards the equipment of the fleet and purchase of the cargo. Their success in the Indies was answerable to the greatness of the preparations, and the most sanguine expectations; but the Dutch, who dreaded above all things the revival of the English commerce directly with the Indians, wanting to engross the first purchase to themselves, fell upon them in their return with a success almost ruinous to the enterprize. In this action two of the largest English ships, with their whole crews and cargoes, were sunk; the latter amounting to one hundred and fifty thousand pounds [r].

Proposals of London merchants.

Commission issued for reviving the commerce to the East Indies.

Sir W. Courton's public spirit.

Success and misfortune of his new fleet.

This disaster, however, did not dispirit the adventurers. Seven ships were sent out the following year by the same proprietors, and with just the same fate as the former. They were every-where well received in India; disposed of their cargoes, and laid out their money to the utmost satisfaction: but returning with merchandize of immense value, they were a second time attacked and defeated by the Dutch. This misfortune was entirely attributed to the necessity they were under of separating, and making different voyages to the different parts of India. One ship running on

A second fleet of seven ships sent out.

Its fate.

[q] Dodsley's Hist. of the East Indies, vol. ii. [r] Harris's Collect. vol. ii.

shore

shore on the island Mauritius, became a prey to the Dutch, and was a real loss to the owners of ten thousand pounds, notwithstanding all the pretended humanity of the Hollanders, and their proffers of friendship and assistance. Another was met by two ships of war belonging to the Dutch company, who openly attacked, took, and made prize of her, with a cargo amounting to seventy-five thousand pounds, after they had killed the captain and half the crew in the engagement. The remainder were carried to Batavia, where, together with the English ensign, they were dragged in triumph through the streets of the city, and exposed to the brutal insults of the populace, and jests of the mob [s]. By these outrages most of the proprietors were utterly ruined, and the rest deterred from prosecuting a scheme from which nothing but misfortunes ensued. Thus failed the attempt of those public-spirited citizens, to restore the commerce of England to the East Indies; an attempt as glorious in the design, as unfortunate in the issue. King Charles, notwithstanding the difficulties he had to struggle with, and the variety of the embarrassments which frustrated his laudable intentions, did not neglect the care of the company's affairs. Repeated remonstrances, letters of request and menaces were used, all of which terminated in procuring the trifling equivalent, and restitution of eighty-five thousand florins; a sum by no means proportioned to a hundredth part of the immediate loss and its consequences [t].

The Dutch openly attack the fleet.

The endeavours of Charles the First to obtain redress.

Now did the Dutch triumph unrivalled in the East; while the English company were compelled, not only to abandon their just right; but the traffick in general for several successive years; the civil distractions banishing all care of such distant concerns. The sequel of this unhappy reign we must pass over in entire silence; no monuments of the company's transactions appearing for a series of years, if they really did subsist as a company, during that period. Such were the melancholy effects of the confusion at home on foreign trade, at a critical juncture too, when it might have been carried to so high a degree, and made a source of perpetual wealth and glory to the nation. The immense wealth, and maritime strength, acquired by the Hollanders, induced them to endeavour still to aggrandize themselves, by the total depression of our naval power. They were led to this design by an opinion, that the parliament, which stood

The endeavours of the Dutch totally to extinguish the English commerce.

[s] Dodsley's Hist. vol. ii. [t] Harris, vol. ii.

upon

upon a precarious and narrow basis, would hardly venture upon a war abroad, at a time when they were breathing after the fatigues and oppression of civil broils. In this opinion the Dutch found themselves deceived; for, however unjustly the parliament had acquired the might it possessed, it must be allowed they here exerted it for the national honour. War between the two commonwealths was declared; and the Dutch suffered the due punishment of their insolence, and had reason afforded them of repenting their being the aggressors. After repeated losses at sea, they were compelled to ask peace, which was granted to them, and signed at Westminster, on the 5th of April, 1654. By this treaty, they rendered Cromwel that satisfaction which they had denied both James and Charles I. This new revolution, which consigned the government of the kingdom into the hands of a tyrant, promoted to that high rank by the intrigues and interest of Holland, operated nothing in favour of the Dutch on this occasion. Cromwel, it must be admitted, discharged his duty in this particular, with the true dignity of a monarch. Forgetting his personal obligations to that nation, where the honour and interest of England were concerned, the protector insisted upon giving the law and his own terms. In the 27th article of the treaty it was stipulated, "That the lords the States General of the United Provinces, shall take care that justice be done upon those who were partakers or accomplices in the massacre of the English at Amboyna, as the republic of England is pleased to term that fact, provided any of them be living [b]." By this treaty, there was settled a commission which sat at Goldsmiths-Hall, whose determination was to be decisive and final of all complaints laid before them, respecting either of the companies. The English gave in an estimate of damages, amounting, besides the loss of their settlements, to two million six hundred and ninety-five thousand nine hundred and ninety-nine pounds nineteen shillings sterling; which sum was specified in fifteen different articles, clearly proved and stated. On the other hand, the Dutch commissioners balanced this demand by a charge, which, however, was neither specified nor proved, amounting to eight hundred and fifty thousand pounds. After weighing the evidence in support of either claim, the following conclusion, called a

They suffer due chastisement.

A.D. 1654.

Treaty between Oliver and the Dutch.

Commissioners appointed by each company, to settle the disputes.

[b] Parliament. Hist. sub an. 1654. etiam Harris, vol. ii. Dodsley's Hist. vol. ii.

regulation, was agreed upon, and signed the 30th of August 1654. Here, after reciting all the above demands at large, they proceed thus: "all which complaints, demands, and charges, exhibited to us the said commissioners, by the deputy of both the English and Dutch companies, expressly chose to this purpose, have been laid before us, with a great number of documents, instruments, and proofs exhibited, as well for forming and corroborating their own demands, as for destroying and refuting those of the opposite party; and at length the arbitration of all those conferences is submitted to us, the aforesaid commissioners, by the said deputies of both companies. Whereupon, we the aforesaid John Exton, William Turner, William Thompson, Thomas Kendal, Adrian Van Almonde, Christian Van Rodenburgh, Lewis Howens, and James Oyssal, after having seen, read, examined, and accurately considered all the documents, instruments, and proofs exhibited to us on both sides, together with all other things which seemed necessary to us for the discovery of the truth; and being desirous to reconcile and to establish a perpetual agreement between both the companies aforesaid, by virtue of the power and authority to us given by the most high the lord protector of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and the high and mighty lords the States General of the United Netherlands, have decided, defined, and determined, and by this our present award, do decide, define and determine as follows:

"We make void, extinguish, obliterate, and altogether wipe out, and commit to oblivion (so as never to be revived at any time, and upon any pretence, by any person whatsoever) all complaints, pretextures, and controversies mentioned here at large above, and all others whatsoever, which the English company trading to the East Indies doth or may form against the Dutch company, without excepting any, of whatsoever kind, nature, or condition they may be. And particularly we appoint and ordain, that the said English company shall not for the future sue or demand any thing of the said Dutch company in Persia, or elsewhere, under the denomination of the customs at Ormuz, or Gombroon; so that the Dutch shall never be molested or disturbed by the English for this cause, under any pretext. Provided, nevertheless, that this does not prejudice any action or plaint, which the English company may enter against the king of Persia, or any other person whatsoever, the Dutch excepted. In like manner we make void, extinguish, obliterate, and wholly

wholly blot out, and commit to oblivion, ſo as never to be revived at any time, and on any pretence, by any perſon whatſoever, all complaints, pretenſions, and controverſies mentioned above more at large, and all others whatſoever they may be, which the aforeſaid Dutch Eaſt India company doth or may form againſt the ſaid Engliſh company trading to the Eaſt Indies, except none, of whatſoever kind, nature, or condition they may be. Moreover, we appoint and decree, that the ſaid Dutch ſhall yield and reſtore the iſland of Poleroon to the ſaid Engliſh company, in the ſame ſtate and condition as it now is; provided nevertheleſs, that it ſhall be lawful for the ſaid Dutch company to take away, and remove out of the ſaid iſland, all military furniture, merchandize, houſhold ſtuff, and all moveables, if they happen to have any in the iſland.

" And in the laſt place, we declare and ordain, that the ſaid Dutch company ſhall pay the ſaid Engliſh company eighty-five thouſand pounds ſterling; to be paid here at London, one moiety before the laſt day of January next enſuing, according to the Engliſh ſtyle, and the other before the laſt day of March following, according to the ſame ſtyle; and all controverſies between the ſaid companies being by this means compoſed, decided, and determined, to the end that a ſtop may alſo be put to the quarrels of private perſons.

" We have ſeen, peruſed, and examined, all the complaints, and demands exhibited to us in due time, in the name of ſome private Engliſhmen, who complain of having received injury and damage at Amboyna, in the year 1623; and on the other hand, we have heard and conſidered the matters which have been alleged and exhibited by the above mentioned deputies of the Dutch company, in their own defence; and we, the commiſſioners aforeſaid, conſidering that no one perſon beſides theſe underwritten, to us, on this account, entered any actions or demands before us within the due time, after which, it is not lawful to enter any more; and being therefore deſirous that no relics of complaint ſhould remain, and that all cauſe of wrangling may be removed, after having duly conſidered and weighed all things, do, by virtue of the full power and authority given us by the moſt high protector, and the high and mighty States of the United Netherlands, appoint and ordain, that all complaint, action, and demand of the Engliſh whomſoever, whether public or private, on the ſcorce of any damage or injury which they pretend to have ſuffered at Amboyna, in the year

1622 the English style, and 1623 the N. S. may be made void, terminated, and committed to oblivion; and that no person whomsoever he be, shall enter any action on that account, or disturb, molest, or vex the Dutch company on that account, or any Dutchman on that pretext. And on the other hand, we also decree and ordain, that the said Dutch company shall pay here at London, before the first day of January next ensuing, seven hundred pounds sterling, to William Towerson, nephew and administrator of Gabriel Towerson, late of Amboyna, deceased; to William Colson, brother of Samuel Colson, &c. administrator in like manner of his effects, four hundred and fifty pounds; to James Bayles, administrator of the effects of John Powell, three hundred and fifty pounds; to Anthony Ellingham, administrator of the effects of William Grigg, two hundred pounds; to the administrators of effects of John Wallerel, two hundred pounds; to Jane Webber, administratrix of the effects of George Sharrock, one hundred and fifty pounds; to John and Elizabeth Collins, children and heirs of Edward Collins, four hundred and sixty-five pounds; to the administrators of John Beaumont, three hundred pounds; to Jane Webber, widow and administratrix of William Webber, two hundred pounds; to James Baile, administrator of the effects of Ephraim Ramsey, three hundred and fifty pounds; to the executors of the will of Babrosee, fifty pounds; and to the administrator of the effects of Emanuel Thompson, two hundred pounds: all which sums added together, make the sum of three thousand six hundred and fifteen pounds sterling, to be paid here at London, before January next ensuing. And on this condition, we insist that their actions or suits be altogether set aside and cancelled, so as never to be revived hereafter by any person whatsoever [c].'

Concessions made by the Dutch commissioners.

As this award, judgment, or determination, was strictly executed as soon as made, it ought to be considered as decisive against the Dutch. By these trifling and inconsiderable concessions and satisfactions to the representatives of the unfortunate English murdered at Amboyna, they tacitly acknowlege the guilt of their proceedings; unless it be said, that this acknowlegment was extorted by a high hand with the same exaction they practised over the sufferers. This treaty set the affairs of the company again on foot; it gave life and spirit to commerce, and encouraged individuals to that independence and freedom of

[c] Harris, vol. ii. p. 455.

action

action and sentiment, which they perceived was asserted by the public. So much did the East India affairs recover themselves, that there was actually a subscription entered into, under the protection of Cromwel, of eight hundred thousand pounds sterling [d].

In this train were affairs when Charles II. was restored, by the address and intrigues of Monk; and the constitution reinstated in its ancient form. It was one of the earliest acts of Charles's government, to give that countenance and protection to the company, which was necessary to revive and establish its commerce. He granted them a new charter, dated April 3, 1661; and leave to export bullion, to the amount of one hundred and fifty thousand pounds, every voyage, provided that foreign goods to that amount were re-exported. He confirmed their exclusive right, and permitted them to licence private merchants, to trade from one port to another in India, by the name of country traders. An authority, civil and military, was vested in the company, with power given them of making war or peace with the infidels in the Indies: but should this charter prove detrimental to the nation, the provisional clause was still reserved, of its being in that case void and of no effect, after three years notice given.

A D. 1661.

Charter granted by Charles the Second with additional privileges.

No sooner had his majesty set on foot a treaty with Portugal, for his marriage with the infanta, than it was determined to embrace this opportunity of procuring the cession of some convenient port and mart for the India company, as part of the infanta's portion. Thus the important island of Bombay came into the hands of the English, and proved one of the most advantageous settlements in the Indies. The soil, it must be acknowleged, is but barren, and the climate unhealthy; yet its situation renders the place important, and the ensuing success of the company demonstrates it to be one of the greatest acquisitions they ever made. After the king's marriage, a squadron, conducted by the lord Marleburgh, was sent to receive the possession and investiture of the island from the hands of the viceroy, who had received his Portuguese majesty's commands to that effect. His lordship set sail with a fleet of five men of war, having Sir Abraham Shipman, appointed governor, on board, and arrived at Bombay in September 1663, after a prosperous voyage. The viceroy was disposed to comply with his majesty's instructions;

Bombay, the dowry of the infanta of Portugal, queen of England.

[d] Ibid. etiam Dodsley, vol. ii.

but the strong opposition of the clergy, who refused to cede the island to heretics, terrified the viceroy into their measures, and determined him to keep to his new acquired dignity [e]. It is probable, that ambition as well as religion might have some influence upon the viceroy; certain it is, that his obstinate refusal to surrender the island, obliged the lord Marleburgh with the fleet to retire to Swally Road for refreshments. After having laid in store of necessary provisions, his lordship, in January 1664, set sail with two ships for England, leaving the rest of the squadron under Sir Abraham Shipman, to spend the remainder of the western monsoons in some of the nearest ports. During this time, he buried above two hundred of his men on a desolate island, Anjadiva, where he wintered and stayed from April to October. The monsoons being over, the fleet put to sea, and sailed for Bombay. On his arrival, Sir Abraham threatened the viceroy and clergy with the vengeance of the kings of England and Portugal, if they longer continued obstinate, or denied obedience to their majesties instructions and contracts. Some of those who had not forgot Cromwel's exploits, who reflected on the miseries the Portuguese and Spanish fleet endured from the English republicans, advised the church to abate of her zeal. At length their religion giving way to the suggestions of fear, they consented to a treaty, by which the inhabitants were to be continued in the free exercise of their faith, and possession of their estates under the crown of England [f]. Sir Abraham dying, Mr. Cook, next in commission, signed the treaty, and in quality of governor, took possession of the island, in the name of the king his master. Here he immediately set about building a fortress; but a capital mistake he made in concluding the treaty, by not including the appendages to Bombay, extending to Versica on Salet, has been a bone of contention ever since. The fort was laid out in a regular manner, and an old square house fitted up for himself as governor.

Bombay ceded in fee-tail to the company.

Thus the trade of Bombay flourished exceedingly; but the revenues of the place not being equal to the expence of keeping it, and other political and commercial reasons superadded, obliged the crown to make it over in fee-tail to the company; in which manner they continued to hold it to this present time [g]. After the fort was traced, and the foundation laid, Sir George Lucas arrived from England

[e] Hamilton's Hist. East Ind. vol. i. Harris, vol. ii. [f] Hamilton, ibid. [g] Rapin, under this reign.

with

with two ships; but affairs being already accommodated, he continued here no longer than January, 1666, when he returned to England, leaving the government as he found it, in the hands of Mr. Cook and the council, under the presidency of the settlement at Surat. Mr. Cook betrayed his ignorance of architecture, in building the fort upon the ground where it now stands, which is to a high degree inconvenient. As an engineer too, he has failed; the fort being commanded by a hill, called Dangeree, at about eight hundred paces distance.

The Dutch had for a considerable time pursued the long-concerted scheme of engrossing the entire India trade. The former reign had afforded them an opportunity of executing in a great measure that design; the interregnum began to revive commerce, and now that the court struck into the plan advantageous to traffick, the English company once more began to make some figure in India. This prosperity the Dutch resolved to put a stop to, by a method no less effectual than an immediate attack upon the English; which was, to wage unintermitting war with the natives, till they compelled them to expel all foreigners, besides themselves, out of the country.

The views of the Dutch.

The war no sooner broke out than their resentment was immediately levelled against the English, in which, by their superior strength, they generally succeeded in that part of the world; but peace between England and Holland ensuing, they again began with the natives, supporting the prince of Java against his father, till, from a principle of self-preservation, the Javanese necessarily excluded our company. The loss of the English settlement at Bantam greatly affected the affairs of the company; they determined, therefore, at all events, to attempt the recovery of a place so important to their trade. Great and extraordinary preparations were set on foot for this purpose; and a fleet consisting of twenty-three ships, many of them carrying sixty and seventy guns, was equipped, with every thing ready to sail, A. D. 1685. A body of eight thousand land forces was put on board; a force which no reasonable man doubted would reinstate the settlement, and humble the insolence of the Hollanders [h]. In another manner did the corrupted court determine the event. Profusion begat avarice; and this insatiable passion blinded the administration to every view of honour, and silenced

The English company attempt the recovery of Bantam.

[h] Harris, vol. ii. Account of Commerce. Hamilton, vol. i. ibid.

the clamorous dictates of honesty, conscience, and national spirit. An embargo for nine months was laid upon this armament, under various pretexts; but with a view to extort large sums of money from the company. At last the time elapsing, the Dutch ambassador put an entire stop to the expedition, by a bribe to certain great personages, of one hundred thousand pounds; an action that has indelibly stained with infamy the mercenary reign of that weak and profligate prince. Thus was the interest and honour of the kingdom, and the rights of a company established by law, and cherished by all the predecessors of this monarch, bartered for the mean gratification of an inconsiderable sum of money. Charles, it must be owned, understood, and would have encouraged commerce, had his irregular passions, and loose desires, left him an opportunity of paying any attention to the welfare of his people. His inclinations were evinced by the additional privileges he granted the company the year after his restoration. The company found in his brother James the II. a still more powerful protector and warm patron. Charles had granted them a new charter in the twenty-eighth year of his reign, and extended it in the thirty-fifth; but his successor not only extended the immunities of the company, but in a manner shared his sovereignty with them [1]. He impowered them to build fortresses, to levy troops, to determine causes under the form of courts martial, and to coin money; all this with intention to enable them to dispute this commerce with the Hollanders, and to secure the encroachments resulting from the traffick to his kingdoms. Under so many advantages, and the patronage of a prince, who both knew and loved trade, it is not to be doubted, but the company flourished, grew powerful, and extended their dealings and authority with which the sovereign had invested them. It is true, they did exert their power, by making their countrymen feel its full weight, without communicating any part of the benefit.

The corruption of the English court frustrates the design.

James the II. encourages the company.

Having been at the expence of such an armament as we have mentioned, they were obliged to employ them abroad; but their capital being insufficient for purchasing a cargo, orders were issued to their governors and factors, to borrow what sums they could on the company's credit in India. Still several of the ships remained unloaded; these, therefore, were employed in freights in the country. Thus far the policy of the company was justifiable and honest; what

The company borrow money in India.

[1] Dodsley's History of the East Indies, vol. ii.

follows

follows was treacherous, baſe, and unworthy the ſubjects of a Chriſtian and civilized ſtate. Captain Hamilton, who ſeems a plain honeſt man of ſenſe, acquaints us, that he ſaw a letter from the governors of the company in England, to the factors abroad, intimating, that as ſoon as they had puſhed their credit to the utmoſt extent, they would then contrive means of quarrelling with the creditors, and of putting a ſtop to their trade [k]. A ſhort method of payment; which ſhews, that no ingratitude or villainy is too black for the human heart, poſſeſſed with avarice, to perpetrate. By many writers this whole tranſaction is charged upon the intrigues, pride, and ambition of Sir Joſiah Child, and his brother Mr. John Child, then honoured with knighthood, and made governor of Bombay. The arbitrary adminiſtration of this gentleman was equally oppreſſive to the Indian merchants, as to the Engliſh traders and troops. The pay of the latter was reduced thirty per cent. a ſtep which entirely alienated them from the governor, and prepared their minds to embrace any opportunity to bring about a revolution in the affairs of the iſland. The occaſion ſoon offered; Mr. Ward, the governor's brother-in-law, by him appointed deputy, was detected in a ſecret correſpondence with the Swajee, inviting him to land. This detection prevented not the Swajee's making an effort. He ſent a fleet of eighty ſmall veſſels, to attempt a landing on the back bay; but they were ſo hotly received, that they ſheered off with loſs. Ward was then confronted with his intercepted letters, the government taken out of his hands, and he, with the reſt of the faction, ſent to Sir John Child at Surat, which at that time was the head ſettlement and reſidence of the governor. The iſlanders taking upon themſelves the adminiſtration, choſe major Kegwin, an officer of experience, to ſuperintend military affairs; and captain Thorburne was put at the head of the civil government [l].

The ſhameful acts of the governor of the company.

Sir J. Child and his brother abuſe the power entruſted to them.

The Moors make an attempt to invade Bombay.

The iſlanders revolt.

In this manner did affairs ſtand, till the arrival of the Phœnix frigate, A. D. 1685. She had been diſpatched from England, in conſequence of remonſtrances received there from Sir John Child, to demand reſtitution of the iſland, and to have it again put under the company's authority. The king's orders, and pardon to all who ſhould yield obedience, were no ſooner declared, than all the inhabitants ſubmitted; but for their own ſecurity drew up certain articles to be ſigned by general Child (he now bore that

The natives return to their duty.

[k] Hamilton, vol. i. p. 187. Harris, vol. ii. ibid. [l] Dodſley, vol. ii. Hamilton, ibid.

rank),

rank), and Tyrrel, captain of the frigate. Among the reſt they ſtipulated, that any one deſirous of returning into England, ſhould have a paſſage in ſome of the company's ſhips. Kegwin accordingly came over; but Thorburne, on account of his family and ſmall fortune, remained behind, to experience farther proofs of the general's inhumanity. A villainous and dark ſcene of iniquity here preſents itſelf, which, in honour to human nature, we muſt ſuppreſs. Indeed, the general was no ſooner reinſtated, than he exerted every act of a wanton, inſolent, and ambitious tyranny. Beſides oppreſſing Thorburne, by acts the moſt inſidious and baſe, two other gentlemen in particular, whoſe integrity was a check upon his meaſures, felt the laſh of his unjuſt reſentment. Theſe were Meſſrs. Pit and Bourchier, both of the council, and both of diſpoſitions very oppoſite to that of the petty baſhaw. They had ever preferred their honeſty and honour to his favour; conſtantly oppoſing his pernicious ſchemes, they at length ſunk under the weight of his authority. What particularly rouſed Sir John's vengeance, was the firm oppoſition made by thoſe gentlemen to a diabolical inquiſition erected by him, under the preſidency of a refugee Greek. Their attachment to liberty, and his cruel perſecution, obliged them to ſeek ſhelter in the Mogul's dominions, where, for ſome time, they traded with ſucceſs. Pit was at laſt taken by pirates, and his ranſom, by means of the humane governor, raiſed ſo high, that he died in ſlavery. He next, in arrogant and imperious terms, demanded Bourchier, his wife, children, and effects, to be delivered up to him by the Mogul governor of Surat. This demand, with the remonſtrance to the Mogul governor of pretended grievances, laid the foundation of the war that enſued with the Great Mogul. It may be eaſily perceived how hard this Engliſh robber muſt have ſtrained to make his charge plauſible; a charge founded upon fraud, ambition, and tyranny, the whole intention of which was to clear accounts with the Indian merchants, his creditors, to raiſe his own power, and to give full ſcope to his private reſentment and pique to Mr. Bourchier [m].

General Child's barbarity and inſolence.

He erects an inquiſition in Bombay. Meſſ. Pit and Bourchier fly to the Mogul's dominions.

Theſe pretences were made the foundation of a war with the Mogul; Child, whether from the violence of his own diſpoſition, or whether by colluſion with his conſtituents, or both, ſeized on all the ſhips of the Mogul's ſubjects, wherever they were found. The Surat merchants in par-

This and other pretences the general makes the foundation of a war with the Mogul.

[m] Hamilton, vol. i. ibid.

ticular,

ticular, who carried on an immenſe traffick by ſea to Mocha, Perſia, and Baſſora, weſtward; to Bengal, Acheen, Molucca, and Siam, eaſtward, obtained paſſes from the Engliſh general, notwithſtanding which they were violently ſeized, without regard paid to the protection he had afforded and engaged. Nor did he once trouble himſelf by ſending to the king, or uſing the form of declaring war, as practiſed among all civilized ſtates. No; his intention was to reap the fruits of a piracy before a proper force could be ſent againſt him. Thus was the company involved in a quarrel, which coſt them above four hundred thouſand pounds, beſides the ruin of their credit with the Mogul and his ſubjects; a piece of falſe policy, the effects of which they have not recovered to this day. By what meaſures of common ſenſe could the general abroad, and his brother Sir Joſiah at home, think to rob, plunder, and ſpoil the Mogul's ſubjects in one part of his dominions, and yet enjoy a free undiſturbed trade in other parts? They could not expect that the king would be an idle ſpectator of the misfortunes of his people, and arrogance of the Engliſh. During this period it is, that foreigners, and even the Dutch themſelves, have reaſon to complain of the haughty inſolence with which a company of merchants inſulted a great and powerful monarch. The firſt exploit of this ſtrange policy was performed by captain Andrews. This gentleman, in the ſhip called Charles the Second, ſailing to Mocha, ſet up the Engliſh flag on the Engliſh factory, and ſeized upon two Engliſh country trading ſhips, commanded by the captains Bear and Wren. This laſt, refuſing to ſurrender his ſhip, was put to death in his own cabin [n]. The governor and merchants of Mocha diſliking thoſe violent proceedings, were propoſing to compel Andrews to deliver back the ſhips, of which deſign he received notice, withdrew on board with great precipitation, leaving the colours flying on the factory. He ſoon after left Mocha, carrying his two prizes with him. The company ſuffered for thoſe captures, in being forced to make ample reſtitution to the owners. Mr. Clive, ſupercargo of the Streights Merchant, one of the ſeizures, got bills, payable at Grand Cairo, for his ſtock, ſixty bales of coffee excepted, which he carried into England, where it ſold well; in proportion to this were the company obliged to indemnify the owners for the reſt of the cargo, the whole amounting to thirty-two thouſand

The abſurd conduct of Sir Joſiah and general Child.

The company are forced to make ſatisfaction for the violence committed by general Child.

[n] Harris, vol. ii. Hamilton, vol. i.

pounds.

pounds. The Briſtol's cargo was in like manner made good to the proprietors, as was that of the Johanna, amounting to ſixty thouſand pounds. The Little Betty, a ſhip taken by the Phœnix in her way to India, and ſold at Bombay for ſix hundred pounds, coſt the company twelve thouſand pounds in England. The owner of this veſſel, one Haſlewell, a city quaker, arreſted captain Tyrell on Change; who offered James the Second for bail, whom the plaintiff, it is ſaid, refuſed, but accepted of a private gentleman, Sir Joſeph Herne [o].

The general ſeizes all the Mogul's ſhipping.

The Charles, Cæſar, Royal James, and Mary, ſeized upon fourteen ſail of the Surat trade, and brought them into Bombay in the year 1688, no war having yet broke out with the Mogul, only with the inhabitants of Surat, whom the general thought to humble. Theſe captain Hamilton ſaw at Bombay, who likewiſe affirms, that Child ſailed with the Royal James and Mary, in the month of October, attended by four other ſhips of war, in order to force the governor and inhabitants into a compliance with his arbitrary demands, in which deſign, however, he was diſappointed. He left Surat in January 1689, highly incenſed at his diſappointment, carrying all the Engliſh ſhips, except the Adventure, with him. This ſhip had been forced by the Phœnix over the bar, where ſhe lay till her bottom was eat up by worms, and the ſhip rendered uſeleſs, the cargo remaining ſeveral years in Mr. Bourchier's poſſeſſion. On his return to Bombay, Child ſeized upon a fleet, laden with corn for the Mogul's army, though he was oppoſed by the council in general. One captain Hide, in particular, gave his opinion of the imprudence of this meaſure with great freedom, for which he was treated with ſcurrilous language by this haughty general. In ſhort, neither the danger of incenſing the Mogul, of bringing deſtruction upon Bombay, and ruin to the company's affairs, could prevent this vain-glorious and raſh man from purſuing a ſeries of ill-judged unadviſed meaſures. His pride, inſolence, avarice, and ſelf-ſufficiency, rendered him equally an object of contempt and hatred; prevented his council from giving him the neceſſary advice, and, in ſhort, brought on the almoſt fatal cataſtrophe which enſued to the company, from a war with ſo potent a prince, oppoſed by ſo ignorant a general [p].

[o] Hamilton, vol. i. [p] Dodſley, vol. ii. Harris, vol. ii.

Sedee

Sedee Yacoup, the Mogul's general, receiving advice of this transaction, sent to Sir John Child, in terms of the highest respect, to request restitution of the fleet, assuring him that he had never hitherto interfered in his disputes with the inhabitants of Surat; that he was still determined to pursue the same conduct, unless his refusal of so just a demand should compel him to alter his measures. To this remonstrance Sir John Child returned an answer full of insolence, and ordered the captures to be unloaded at Bombay. Sedee Yacoup sent another message more peremptory than the former, threatening, that if the fleet was not discharged by the 11th of February, he would certainly demand it with an army at Bombay on the 14th. This demand being rejected likewise with arrogance, the Mogul general performed his promise with great punctuality, landing with twenty thousand men at Somree, a place four miles distance from the main fort [q]. Insolence and boasting are seldom combined with true courage. Child's security had not only prevented his taking the proper precautions against such an attempt; but his fears now deprived him of the necessary presence of mind. Hitherto he had trusted to the reputation and power of the company, which was now higher than ever it had been in the Indies: this screen taken away, he sunk into his natural pusillanimity and meanness. There was, indeed, a sufficient number of small boats to oppose and defeat the enemy's landing; but the confusion which attended so unexpected a danger, rendered them useless. They were neglected, while the general's attention was employed on things of little consequence, or on his own fears. Sedee Yacoup surprised the redoubt that stood at the place where he landed, the garrison abandoning it after having fired a cannon as an alarm. At one in the morning three guns were fired from the castle to give general notice of the approach of an enemy, which threw the inhabitants without the fortress into much consternation, that the women, both white and black, ran with their children in their arms, half-naked, to the castle, where, being denied admittance, they remained till day-light. The fortress of Magazan, though defended by fourteen pieces of cannon, as well as an almost inaccessible situation, was abandoned on the enemy's approach. The cowardly retreat of the commanding officer was so precipitate, that he left every thing behind a prey to the Moors. Ten

Sedee Yacoup, the Mogul's general, demands redress.

It is haughtily refused, and he lands an army at Bombay.

The pusillanimous conduct of general Child.

[q] Hamilton, vol. i.

chests

chests of treasure, each containing a thousand pounds, and four chests of new arms, were taken by the enemy, though the sailors offered to carry them off safe. How these came to be deposited in Magazan could never be cleared up; nor were the officers reasons for making a present of them to the enemy more apparent; but perhaps the most wonderful circumstance of the whole was, that this officer was never called to give an account of his conduct. Mortars, bombs, ammunition, and provisions fell likewise into the hands of Sedee. Profiting by the misconduct of the English, that chief sent a party to plunder the peasants of Mahim, and to view the fort, which he judged might, like the others, be evacuated; nor was he mistaken, the garrison having embarked in boats for Bombay, before they had sight of his detachment. Establishing his head quarters at Magazan, and planting his flag on the ramparts, he sent out parties to harrass and insult the English general, who was stung with the consequences of his own imprudence. Accordingly captain Pean was ordered, with a body of fifty men, to dislodge the enemy from the hills of Magazan; Monroe, an experienced officer, being appointed his lieutenant. This small detachment marched in good order within shot of the enemy, who were drawn up behind a rising ground, which covered them from the fire of the English. Here the Moors determined to wait their approach; a circumstance which Monroe observing, advised captain Pean to separate the detachment into platoons, as the most effectual means to break the Indian infantry. The captain haughtily rejecting this seasonable counsel, told the lieutenant, that when he was appointed commander, he was to do what he thought proper, but as that trust was now committed to himself, he would act according to his own judgment. He then ordered his men to extend their ranks, making them as thin as possible, and to discharge a general fire upon the enemy as soon as they saw them open upon the plain. Such a conduct, he said, would strike terror into them. Monroe warmly opposed this disposition, reminding the captain of the danger he must be in if the enemy should advance whilst his men were reloading. But Pean adhering tenaciously to his first opinion, ordered his men to fire as directed; the consequence of which was what had been foreseen by Monroe. The men being lighter armed than the English, perfectly well practised in close fight, with sword and target, and ten times their number, laying hold of the important moment, rushed upon Pean with

The injudicious conduct of captain Pean.

with all their force, and soon bore him down with their weight. So rapid and bold a movement struck the captain with a panic which carried him, with incredible swiftness, to a Portuguese church, where a hundred men lay to sustain him if required. Monroe still stood his ground with a part of the wing which he commanded, his whole force not exceeding fourteen men. After an obstinate dispute, which demonstrated that, had his advice been pursued, victory would have declared for the English, he, with all his brave fellows, were cut in pieces. Pean, who was the general's minion, returned to him, and met with a hearty welcome instead of the halter which he deserved[r]. Sedee Yacoup was now master of the whole island, the castle, with about half a mile of ground to the southward of it, excepted. To reduce the garrison he planted a battery on Dungeree Hill, which commands the castle, from which he greatly annoyed the besieged. Then he put four great guns into the custom-house, called the India House, raised a battery at Moody's house, within two hundred paces of the fort, which made it dangerous stirring without the gate of the castle, till a sconce, in form of a crescent, was thrown up. General Child, on his part, took measures for his defence. Every man, without distinction, was pressed into the service, and three thousand Sauvajees were taken as auxiliaries into pay. This measure rendered provisions scarce; to remedy which inconvenience, a fleet of small ships was sent to cruize on the Mogul's coasts, where they met with considerable success. Captain Hamilton, from whom this relation is deduced, was pressed, and appointed to the command of a vessel of nine tons burthen, twenty fighting men, and sixteen rowers; with which small force he brought nine prizes into Bombay, most of them loaded with provisions and cloathing for the enemy. One piece of oppression he complains of as being greatly prejudicial to the service, viz. that the cruizers were admitted to no share of the captures; nay, that the very pay they had saved was wrested from them for the use of the company, under pretence of its being part of the prize. Thus they became negligent in their duty, and never looked out for the enemy's ships, but when necessity and pinching hunger rendered it absolutely necessary.

The garrison of Bombay frightened for want of provisions.

[r] Hamilton's Hist. of the East Indies, vol. i. chap. 17. Dodl. vol. ii. Harris, vol. ii. book i. chap. 2.

In

In this train were affairs when general Child, finding his ſucceſs on ſhore not correſpondent to his inſolent hopes, and that the enemy were increaſed to forty thouſand men, began to think of terminating the affair by ſubmiſſion. With this view two perſons, in character of Engliſh ambaſſadors, were diſpatched to the Mogul's court. Mr. George Welden, Abraham Naava, a Jew, aſſiſted by Meer Mezamie, a merchant of Surat, of ſome intereſt at court, and a friend to the company, conſtituted this embaſſy. They arrived in fifteen days at Jehanabat, where the court then reſided. At firſt their reception was cold, but, by force of bribes and preſents to the officers, they were admitted to an audience of Aureng Zîb. Their attitude, when brought into the preſence of this monarch, was very mortifying, their hands being tied before, and they conſtrained to proſtrate themſelves on the ground. The emperor, after a ſevere reprimand, demanded their buſineſs. To this queſtion they anſwered by a confeſſion of their fault, and an humble requeſt that his majeſty would pardon them. They then petitioned that their phirmaund, ſo juſtly forfeited might, by his clemency, be renewed, and that the Mogul's forces might be withdrawn from Bombay. Aureng Zîb told them, that, to have their ſubmiſſion accepted, and the injuries ſuſtained by his ſubjects pardoned, one thing was abſolutely neceſſary, which was general Child's withdrawing from India within nine months, never to return; that then their phirmaund ſhould be renewed, and the army recalled, as ſoon as ſecurity was given for full ſatisfaction and indemnification of the loſſes ſuſtained by his people.

The general ſends ambaſſadors to the Mogul's court with ſubmiſſive propoſals.

Aureng Zîb's generous conduct.

General Child dies.

The death of general Child, which happened in January following, much facilitated a reconciliation with Aureng Zîb, and promoted the company's affairs; yet was it kept ſecret till it was known what his majeſty's intentions were in reſpect to him. Meer Mezamie died likewiſe in March, it was ſuppoſed by poiſon, on account of his attachment to the Engliſh. At the time that Mezamie was given over by his phyſicians, the Engliſh ambaſſadors went to demand of him an account of fifty thouſand rupees he had received for ſecret ſervices. His anſwer was, that he was ſorry he had ever meddled in their affairs; he had ſerved them at the expence of his life, yet were they diſſatisfied. As to the uſe to which the money was appropriated, that was a ſecret he was not at liberty to divulge [f].

[f] Hamilton, vol. i. chap. 17.

During

During this situation of affairs, the Dutch failed not to endeavour profiting by the misconduct and misfortunes of the English company. Baroon their ambassador at Aureng Zîb's court, hearing of the revolution in Great Britain, thought to impose on the ignorance of the Indian monarch. He seized the opportunity of his first audience to magnify the power and influence of the Dutch, and vilify that of the English. The Mogul seemed pleased with what he said, and ordered him to proceed. Baroon then told him, that Great Britain was, in comparison to Holland, a poor, weak, and contemptible nation, fickle, unsteady, and ever embroiled in divisions and civil discord. That the Dutch were forced to send the English a king to govern them; and that if they were excluded by his majesty from trading with his subjects, the States General would carry it on with more advantage to India, fill his coffers with treasure, and make his people happy, while the English would be at a loss to procure daily bread. The Mogul gravely replied, that if the States possessed that superiority he alleged, it would be an easy matter for them to drive the English out of India, and engross the whole commerce to themselves; and he desired him to tell his masters, this was the conduct he expected they would pursue. Baroon excused himself, pretending that he could do nothing in the affair without instructions from Holland. Then the prince reprimanded him, and discovered his sense of the falsehood the ambassador had advanced: "You very well know, says Aureng Zîb, that about seventeen years ago, the king of France over-run most of your country in a few days, and would have become master of the whole, had he not been repulsed by the English, and not the Dutch forces." He farther told him, that if England did not hold the balance of power, either the emperor or France would conquer Holland in one campaign. Baroon confounded at finding himself thus detected, made no reply; but retired in the utmost mortification. The English ambassadors had no sooner obtained pardon, than they began to perceive the features of the courtiers soften in their favour. They were indulged with the liberty of taking the diversions of the country, while the phirmaund was preparing, which, according to the custom of the Easterns, was a work of time. Orders were sent to the sedee to forbear hostilities; the same orders were given to the garrison, so that frequent visits passed among the officers on both sides. The phirmaund being ready, and the necessary security given, sedee Yacoup left

Aureng Zîb's answer to the Dutch envoy, and the views of the Hollanders frustrated.

The Mogul recals his army from Bombay, and grants a peace.

Bombay on the 8th of June, 1690, after a ſtay of near four months, all which time the caſtle was cloſely blocked up on the land ſide. The peſtilence, which his army left behind, more prejudiced the company's affairs than either the loſs of men they had ſuſtained, or the laſt malicious act of ſedee in ſetting on fire and deſtroying Magazan [s]. Although the Mogul was not ignorant of the injuries his ſubjects had received from the Engliſh, yet was he unwilling to uſe ſeverity. That wiſe monarch thought it more adviſable to wink at enormities which could not be remedied, then to perſecute the authors with a rigour that might deprive his dominions of a beneficial commerce. When the ambaſſadors had their audience of leave, he gently told them of their errors, prudently admoniſhing them to a different conduct for the future, and, with the majeſty of a prince, commanded them to receive his favours and graces with that reſpect and deference which was due to the friendſhip of ſo great a monarch. He concluded with adviſing them to make law the meaſure of juſtice, to uſe moderation in all their actions, and juſtice in their dealings; after which advice, he diſmiſſed them filled with the higheſt notions of his wiſdom, magnanimity, and virtue [t].

The Mogul's ſpeech to the company's ambaſſadors.

Mr. Vaux ſucceeds Child in the government of Bombay.

General Child was ſucceeded in the government of Bombay by Mr. Vaux. Mr. Harris, who had been priſoner in Surat, ought to have been the ſucceſſor in courſe of ſeniority, but it was unuſual to admit into this office any one who had been confined for capital crimes by the Mogul, till a particular amneſty was granted: and this was a kind of neceſſary compliment and reſpect paid to that monarch. Mr. Vaux was obliged to go to Surat to receive the phirmaund and the Mogul's ſerpaw, or preſent uſual on theſe occaſions. This donation conſiſted of a fine horſe richly compariſoned, which muſt never be ſold on any account whatſoever, a complete ſuit of cloaths of atlaſſes, or zeerhaſtes, a kind of ſattin with wrought flowers of gold or ſilver; a fine turban, embroidered ſhoes, and a dagger of value, ſtuck into a fine ſaſh. Equipped in this attire, the general, or governor, is preſented with the phirmaund by the Mogul's meſſenger, the governor of the city or province enlarging, at the ſame time, upon the honour done him by the moſt powerful potentate un-

[s] Harris, vol. ii. book i. chap. 2. Dodſl. Hiſt. of the Eaſt Indies, vol. ii. Hamilton, ibid. [t] Harris's Collect. vol. ii. book i. chap. 2.

der

der heaven; and admoniſhing him that his conduct may render him deſerving of ſuch a diſtinction. Mr. Vaux having received the phirmaund in a gilt box, put it upon his head, returning by the interpreter his acknowledgments of the honour and particular obligation he was under to the great monarch; after which ceremony he was conducted by the Mogul's governor from the garden where it was performed, into the city, amidſt the acclamations of an infinite concourſe of people, who welcomed his acceſſion to that high rank with ſhouts of joy, as he paſſed to the Engliſh factory. After remaining about a week at Surat, Mr. Vaux ſent to acquaint the Mogul governor of the neceſſity he was under of returning to his charge at Bombay. In anſwer, he was told, that as no other perſon could be intruſted by the Mogul to ſee the contract performed, it was hoped he would not think of leaving the city, leſt the king ſhould repent of the favours conferred upon the company, whoſe commiſſion he bore. Thus was Mr. Vaux detained a hoſtage for the ſecurity of the performance of the articles entered into by his maſters [u].

He is detained at Surat by a gentle reſtraint.

Mr. Harris then, as was uſual, demanded the government of Bombay to be ceded to him, as ſenior, which Vaux, to avoid altercation, granted. Harris ſoon after made Anneſley, a man of no character, his confident and director; ſo that, in ſhort, the ſubtle Anneſley held the reins of government, and had art and addreſs enough to embroil, during the adminiſtration of Harris, the company's affairs, as well as thoſe of private traders, procuring himſelf to be afterwards made preſident or rather tyrant of Bombay [w]. Nor was the conduct of ſir Joſiah Child, preſident of the company's affairs in England, leſs culpable. At laſt the mal-adminiſtration of Harris and his prime miniſter, Anneſley, produced ſo many complaints, that the company was forced to ſuperſede them, ſending ſir John Gayer to take upon him the management of affairs in Harris's room. Gayer arrived anno 1694, and was inveſted with the title of general of India. He continued Anneſley in the company's ſervice, though he deprived him of all power of doing miſchief, and in the end diſmiſſed him, anno 1700. The new governor was a man of good-nature, and on the whole an agreeable character; yet did he commit actions greatly prejudicial to his reputation.

Mr. Harris is governor of Bombay.

Sir John Gayer made commander in chief in India

[u] Hamilton, vol. i. [w] Idem ibid. Dodſl. ibid.

He is succeeded by Sir Nicholas Waite.

Nor was the conduct of sir Nicholas Waite, who succeeded in the government of Bombay, less unwarrantable. The looseness of his morals, his barefaced perversion of justice, together with his prevarication, and little arts, incensed to such a degree the inhabitants and soldiers of the island, that they seized and sent him prisoner to England. His sway, though short, was, nevertheless, very prejudicial both to the company and to private traders. From the time that the president had been obliged to reside at Surat, Bombay was under the direction of a deputy, appointed by the governor. The war and late pestilence had made great havock among the Europeans on the island, insomuch, that out of eight hundred English, there remained not above sixty. Thus, from a populous and pleasant place, Bombay was reduced to a solitary and dismal desert. Still the spirit of injustice remained, which neither war nor pestilence could subdue. Those who survived were denied the liberty of returning to their native country, and likewise of pursuing their fortunes in India by private trade. They were detained in the company's service, under the lash of authority, insolence, and oppression, without a glimmering of hope [x].

Bombay ruined by the oppression of its governors.

To avoid confusion, and disturbing the reader's attention, we have pursued the affairs of Bombay at the expence of a slight trespass on chronology. We shall now return to the year 1691, when the domestic transactions of the company afford materials for our history. As the political affairs of this commerce are wholly abstracted from foreign occurrences, we believe the reader will not be displeased that we have treated them separately. The contrary would have broke the chain of narration, thrown the reader into perplexity, and wholly destroyed the pleasure arising from an uniform and complete view.

[x] Harris, vol. i. Dodsl. ibid.

SECT.

SECT. IV.

Containing the Domestic Occurrences of the Company; Designs set on foot to destroy the Monopoly; the Disputes of the Company with Interlopers; and the Steps previous to the Establishment of a new Company.

ABOUT this time a design which had been long in agitation of subverting the old East India company, by erecting a new one in its stead, began first to appear. This project took its origin from all the several motives which most powerfully actuate the human mind. In 1680, and the several following years, till the unhappy war at Bombay, the price of India stock was three hundred and sixty pounds per cent. and their dividend proportionable; a circumstance that struck all Europe with admiration, and our rivals in trade with envy and malignity. It inflamed the avarice of individuals in the nation; prompted many to invade the exclusive rights of the company, in order to share the profits; and at last divided the whole court and mercantile interest into opposite factions. Each saw the value of the prize, and each contended with equal ardour, the one to keep, the other to obtain, possession of it. The foundation of this struggle had been laid towards the end of Charles the Second's reign; it had been kept up by the partizans of each, either by the press, or by secret intrigues and corrupt applications [y]. A.D. 1691.

A design on foot, by some private merchants, to annul the company's charter.

The complaints against the company were deduced from the year 1682, when Sir Josiah Child, after having arrived at the presidency of affairs, got those very persons excluded the direction who had raised him. They had, indeed, opposed some of his measures, which they apprehended would be fatal and destructive. In course of the complaints, it is alleged, that Sir Josiah's ambition and corruption were so great, that no difficulties could withstand him; by force of intrigue, money, and notorious falshoods, he prevailed in procuring some of the most experienced merchants, of the greatest credit and weight, to be turned out of the direction. His presents were so substantial, that the court fell in with his measures, by which means we are told, he could command equally at St. James's and Westminster Hall, whatever he desired.

Complaints exhibited against the company.

[y] Harris, vol. ii. chap. 2. book 2.

The embargo that was laid upon the great armament set on foot for the recovery of Bantam, the war with the Mogul, the mal-administration of the island of Bombay, the ruin of our most beneficial settlements in India, particularly that at Bengâl, then the richest province in the world, were all charged upon Sir Josiah Child. It was proved, that our trade in Bengâl, which, in the space of twenty-three years, had advanced from eight thousand pounds to three hundred thousand pounds, per annum, was now reduced almost to its former nothingness, by his misconduct. It was yet farther objected by the enemies of the company, that by their shameful neglect, they had lost the island of Poleroon, which, though of inestimable value, was defended only by twelve men, the garrison of a wooden fort, set up for shew, and of no use in defence. That they had accepted for their right to the moiety of the customs of Gombroon, a trifling equivalent of about three thousand pounds per annum. That by annexing votes to shares instead of persons, at the rate of a vote for every five hundred pounds stock, they had enabled one man (Child), to usurp an authority over all the rest, to the great prejudice of the trade. On these narrow principles, the stock ought to govern the stock; and he who had the most money, ought of consequence to have the greatest power. That for the last three years it could be demonstrated, that the joint-stock had been wronged about one hundred thousand pounds by means of private contracts, and unheard of deductions, not without the most iniquitous frauds in both. That the trade had been leased out not only to Englishmen, but to foreigners, invited to assist in freighting the company's ships, to the detriment of the company, and discredit of the nation. That in consequence of a capital error in taking but one half the sum at first subscribed, they found themselves distressed by a narrow stock; and that to remedy it, instead of calling in the remaining subscription, they had borrowed two millions sterling at interest, which had thrown the commerce into a deep and almost incurable consumption. That the stock had been received by unjust and unreasonable dividends, made without regard to the real progress of the trade; but solely directed by ambition and avarice. That from February 1677 to January 1682, they drew out seven hundred and forty-one thousand six hundred and forty-seven pounds, and in two months after doubled their stock, which together, made one million one hundred and nine thousand six hundred and seventy-three

three pounds, and all this from a capital of three hundred and ſixty-nine thouſand eight hundred and ninety-one pounds, which was the principal paid in by the adventurers, while they were beſides at the charge of three hundred thouſand pounds, for intereſt and gratuities at court [y].

Hence, and from ſuch proceedings, the ſtock fell into ſo low, weak, and languiſhing a condition, that inſtead of preſerving the purity of their credit by a continuance of punctual payments, they made it a proſtitute, by a paper fixed on the treaſury-door, declaring a ſtop to payments till a certain time ſpecified. This ſtep was, for the ſcandal and preſumption of it, without precedent, and clearly demonſtrated that the directors had been ſo buſy in making dividends, that the obligation of payments was forgot. But the general charge brought againſt the company was their having ſeized and condemned the ſhips of private traders, who had their licence. To which article was added, their having put to death by the martial law, in contempt of the known conſtitution of the kingdom, ſeveral of his majeſty's ſubjects at St. Helena.

The company's anſwer to the charge.

To this heavy indictment the company anſwered in their defence, 1. In general, that they neither exceeded their power, nor abuſed it; that in no one inſtance did they violate the rights of nations, or prejudice the honour of their country; that the cry and murmurings againſt them were raiſed by thoſe very interlopers who had occaſioned the war in India. They then deſcended to particulars, urging that the rights they held, and the power they exerciſed, were not only derived from the crown, with the ſanction of parliament, but abſolutely neceſſary to conducting the commerce, and carrying it on upon a footing with other nations, and particularly for guarding againſt the encroachments of the avaritious diſpoſitions of Indian governors; that among the powers with which they were inveſted, was that of holding courts-martial, and inflicting military puniſhments; that it did not become them to diſcuſs the queſtion, how far the crown was impowered to grant them their privileges; yet, that as a proof of this power in the crown, their charter had once been judicially confirmed in Weſtminſter-hall; that for many years it was not requiſite to exert that power, nor was it put in force till neceſſity urged it, till the interlopers broke in upon

[y] Ralph's Hiſt. Eng. vol. ii. ſub. an. 1691.

their trade, embroiled them with the natives, and even bred discord among themselves: that it was first in the year 1680, when the whole nation was in confusion, and England was threatened with a civil war, they began to take advantage of the then situation of affairs; that on notice of their illicit practices, the company applied to the crown for such farther privileges as might obviate the inconveniency; that such powers were accordingly granted; that even in the affair of St. Helena, which had undergone the censure of the House of Commons, they were justified by an express commission from king James II. and also by his orders for the fact; that in such circumstances they could only use the power given them, or submit their trust to be infringed, ruined, and destroyed by the foreign and domestic enemies of the company; which alternative was the most eligible, common sense is enough to determine. They had foretold, in their petition to king James II. that all their settlements would be filled with confusion and anarchy, from the pretensions of those intruders, who, to procure themselves credit, propagated a report, that they were a new company, erected by the king in consequence of the old company's having entered into the rebellion against him; that such of the company's servants as had reason to apprehend the consequences of their unjust dealings, joined those interlopers; that the English interest being thus divided, the Indian governors seized the occasion to oppress them, to sink their credit, to embarrass their dealings, and to lessen their profits; that the Dutch, French, Danes, and Portuguese, took their several advantages of this anarchy; that under such a variety of pressures, it could not be wondered that their returns were less considerable than formerly, and the management more difficult; yet that the company was so far from being bankrupt, that they were in a condition easily to satisfy all demands, and to carry on their trade with as large a stock, and with the same advantages as ever; that in truth the clamour was not raised on account of their supposed poverty, it was their wealth and prosperity had excited envy; that as to their postponing payment, they had followed the example of the chamber of London, and even the exchequer itself. The war with the Mogul, the company affirmed, was so far from being unprovoked, perfidious, and piratical, that it was just, necessary, and unavoidable; and that, upon the whole, they had done nothing designedly to forfeit the protection of the government, the good opinion of the people, or the powers and privileges

privileges granted them by their charters, ſince whatever national advantages were to be drawn from trade, might be as well obtained on the preſent model as on any other whatever [a].

Here, as in all ſimilar caſes, where intereſt excites oppoſition, each diſcredited, or pretended to diſcredit, the allegation of the other. Pamphlets were poured out in ſuch numbers on the public, that this ſubject would ſeem to have engroſſed the whole employment of the preſs. One advantage the company had, they were united, attached, and unanimous; their enemies were conſiſtent in nothing but their animoſity, which was vented in a variety of claſhing projects. Some were for laying the trade open; others were for continuing it under the ſanction of the parliament, and transferring the direction to themſelves and their friends. Thoſe who aſpired to power and importance, as well as wealth, gave into the latter; while the former ſcheme was ſupported and eagerly purſued by thoſe whoſe ſmall ſtocks they were deſirous of extending in reaſonable adventures: theſe, however, after ſome feeble attempts, were overpowered, a majority concurring in the former opinion. In ſhort, it ſeemed to be the general ſenſe, that a trade to India, properly conducted, would prove highly beneficial to the nation; that it could not be ſucceſsfully managed but by a joint ſtock, and under joint adventurers, trading in a body: that theſe were incompatible with interloping; that therefore no company could ſubſiſt unleſs private interlopers were excluded; and that they could no otherwiſe be excluded than by inveſting a company with ſufficient powers to vindicate their own rights, to defend themſelves againſt ſuch encroachments, and to conduct their commerce by ſuch fixed laws as ſhould ſecure it againſt the avarice or craft of nabobs, governors, and the counter-practices of their foreign rivals. In this manner did the public reaſon; arguments equally ſtrong for theſe in purſuit and thoſe in poſſeſſion, both joining iſſue in the inference: but then the enemies of the company alleged, that they were not legally inveſted with the powers which they exerciſed; that conſequently by executing an undue and unlawful authority, they had forfeited all their other rights, and were, in equity, actually diſqualified for any ſuch truſt for the future [b].

The enemies of the company diſpute the legality of their charter.

In this train ſtood affairs when they came before the convention parliament. A committee was appointed to

The diſpute laid before the Houſe of Commons.

[a] Vide Apology for the Eaſt India Company, p. 18. Ralph, ibid. [b] Dodſley's Hiſt. Eaſt Ind. vol. ii. book iii.

take

take cognizance of the dispute; and it proceeded so far as to demand a perfect state of the company's accounts, an estimate of their stock, goods, cash, debts, with a view of their domestic and foreign correspondence. With this demand the company complied, and voluntarily offered to submit their books and latest advices from India to the inspection of the chairman, or such two or three of the committee, as the house would please to nominate. Their reason for this limitation was, that a copy of that estimate, which they had submitted to the house, had been sent to Holland for the Dutch to make what advantages of it they could to the prejudice of the company, as was apparent by a transcript remitted from Amsterdam to some Jews residing in London, to compare it with the account delivered in by the company to the chairman: but notwithstanding the eager desire of the convention parliament to prejudice the company, such was their address, such were the friends they made by money and interest, that they baffled all designs upon them till the third session. Their vigour, indeed, was so great and unexpected, that their adversaries thought fit to wait a more favourable occasion to renew the attack [c].

Here stood the dispute for some time, till the adverse party found themselves strengthened with the assistance and countenance of several nobility and gentlemen of rank, distinction, and weight: then they renewed their operations with redoubled vigour; and, to render their motions more regular and certain, they erected themselves into a kind of company, by entering into certain engagements. They presented a petition to the House of Commons, representing the danger to which the India trade was exposed, by the misconduct, abuses, and unlawful practices of the present directors, praying, that a new company, on a new joint-stock, might be erected, with such powers, privileges, limitations, and restrictions, as the wisdom of parliament might see fit, and conduce to the public good. This petition, which was presented on the 28th of October, was attended with a counter-petition from the company: both were submitted to a committee of the whole house; and that nothing might be wanting to a thorough intelligence of the point in question, the several articles of grievance were ordered to be fully stated, and the company's distinct answer to each particular de-

[c] Ralph, vol. ii. sub. an. 1692.

livered;

livered; upon which the 28th of November was appointed for a hearing of both sides [d].

During the intermediate time, an account of the company's stock, cash, debts, &c. as given in by their governor Sir Joseph Herne, was under examination. Certain petitions from the clothiers, praying a free exportation of woollen manufactures; and of the linen drapers, complaining of the company's not supplying them with callicoes, were received and read. At last, after a tedious discussion, and warm debates, the house came to the following resolutions; namely, That a sum not less than one million five hundred thousand pounds, and not exceeding two millions, was a fund necessary to carry on the East India trade in a joint stock. 2. That no person should have any share in the above stock, exceeding five thousand pounds, either in his own or any other name in trust for him. 3. That each person having the above share should have a vote; and that no person should have more than one vote. 4. That the company trading to the East Indies should be obliged anually to export goods, being the growth and manufacture of this nation, to the amount of two hundred thousand pounds. 5. That no private contracts should be made; but all goods be sold at public sales by inch of candle, saltpetre for the use of the crown excepted. 6. That the company be obliged to sell yearly to the king, saltpetre refined, five hundred tons, at the rate of thirty pounds per ton. 7. That no lot exceeding five hundred pounds should be put up at one time at any of the company's sales. 8. That no person whose share did not amount to two thousand pounds, should be appointed governor, or deputy governor; and that a share of one thousand pounds, and no less, could entitle a person to a seat in the committee of the company. 9. That the election of governor, deputy governor, and committee for the company to trade to the East Indies, be made every year. 10. That all dividends be made in money. 11. That no dividend be made without a sufficient fund to clear debts, and carry on trade. 12. That the stock be valued every five years by the accomptant of the company, upon oath, to be inspected by all concerned. 13. That for the future no ships be permitted to go to the East Indies, except such as should be of a company, or be established by act of parliament. 14. That no by-laws should be binding to the company, but such as should be approved by

The company give in a state of their affairs to the House of Commons.

Resolutions of the house.

[d] Debates of the House under this year.

a ge-

a general court of adventurers, and were not repugnant to the laws of the land. 15. That the joint ſtock of a company to trade to the Eaſt Indies be for twenty-one years, and no longer [e].

Hitherto the houſe ſeemed to regard the trade only, without entering into the intereſt of either contending party. The day following they farther reſolved, That all perſons now having ſhares exceeding five thouſand pounds be obliged to ſell out the exceſs, whether in their own names or in truſt, and this too at par. That the members of the committee of the Eaſt India company give ſecurity, to be approved of by the houſe, that their preſent ſtock and eſtate, all debts and incumbrances cleared, amount to ſeven hundred and fifty-nine thouſand pounds. And laſtly, That after ſecurity given, an humble addreſs be preſented to his majeſty, to incorporate by charter the preſent Eaſt India Company, according to the regulations agreed upon by the houſe, that the ſame might paſs into an act.

By this reſolution the houſe gave the company their choice, who accordingly proceeded as if they thought the offer deſerved acceptance. Things bore a promiſing aſpect for them when ſir Thomas Cooke and two of the committee delivered in their propoſals concerning the ſecurity required, which were rejected. However, they ſtill ſhewed a ready compliance, and according to order, undertook to produce the perſons of their bondſmen, and ſpecify the ſums they would ſeverally undertake for: thus every obſtruction was in appearance ſurmounted, and a committee was appointed to prepare and bring in a bill to eſtabliſh an Eaſt India Company, according to the reſolutions of the houſe. The bill was prepared, and brought in on the 16th of January, but not read till the 22d. This proved to the company that ſome new objection was ſtarted; ſome impediment thrown in their way, which they muſt remove by other meaſures. As a farther proof, new petitions were received againſt them; their anſwers deemed unſatisfactory; and the whole game, by the following reſolution, was played into the hands of the court; namely, That an humble addreſs be preſented to his majeſty, to diſſolve the preſent Eaſt India Company, according to the powers reſerved in their charter, and to erect another Eaſt India Company for the better preſerving the Eaſt India trade to this kingdom, in ſuch manner as his majeſty in

A.D. 1692.

The commons prejudiced againſt the company.

[e] Ralph, vol. ii. ubi ſupra.

his

his wisdom shall think fit. The resolution was presented, to which his majesty made answer, "That it was a matter of high importance to the national commerce; that he would consider of it; and that in a short time he would give the commons an answer." Although his majesty appeared quite undetermined, yet his presenting Mr. Goldsborough, then governor of India, with the honour of knighthood, was looked upon as a favourable omen to the present company [f].

The dispute referred to the privy-council.

The whole dispute being now brought before the privy-council, the company shewed the greatest readiness to stand by their award, and signified in writing the chearfulness with which they submitted the dispute to the arbitration of the privy-council. Notwithstanding this, when they received, by the hands of the earl of Nottingham, a copy of the conditions agreed upon by the privy-council, they objected to almost every article, and accompanied those objections with a paper of their own, shewing that neither the model or conduct of such a trading company could be altered for the better.

In this suspence the contest hung till the next session of parliament, when it was again renewed with no less heat than before. Both parties, with equal eagerness, made their applications to the courtiers, and every man of weight, who, on their parts, were induced to put a value on their services proportionable to the consequences given them by such applications. As nothing decisive had been done last year, either in parliament or council, it was generally imagined that the company had, upon the whole, the advantage: to propagate which belief, they talked of opening a new subscription, to the amount of seven hundred and fifty-six thousand pounds, which, together with the value put on their old stock, made the million and a half voted by the commons to be a fund sufficient for this trade. They even applied for a new charter to authorise them to do so, and gave out, after having obtained an order of council to the attorney-general for preparing one, that all persons had now agreed to the regulations on which this charter was to be erected, but more particularly those who had solicited the establishment of a new company by act of parliament [g].

The company propose to open a new subscription.

They obtain an order of council for a new charter.

This report did not long pass unattacked: the enemies of the company presented a new petition to her majesty, in

The merchants present a petition to the queen.

[f] Ralph, vol. ii. A. D. 1642. Dodsley, vol. i. chap. 3. [g] Somers's Col. vol. xxx p. 160.

which

which they solicited as before a new company, by a new, free, and national subscription: they declared, that the adding the new subscriptions to the imaginary stock of the present company, would expose the new stock to the debts of the old, by which it might be wholly absorbed, and the trade annihilated: by this they intended to destroy the prevailing notion, that a compromise had taken place. They farther presumed, that the company, by their misconduct, had traced out a path for their own ruin. When the bill for taxing several joint stocks was in agitation in the house of commons, and the company's stock was valued at seven hundred and forty-four thousand pounds, the proprietors of the stock imprudently pleaded an abatement, affirming that their debts paid, their stock would dwindle to nothing. Assertions so contradictory as those they gave in to the council, and this to the commons, only served to strengthen the aspersions of their adversaries. Notwithstanding this pitiful plea of poverty, the commons tacked a clause to their bill, providing that in default of payment of the tax imposed upon the several joint stocks, at the times specified, the charter of the respective company should be, and was thereby adjudged void. To pursue their mismanagement, the company were so infatuated as to neglect the first quarterly payment of the said tax charged on the joint stock, whereby their charters became void, and fresh arguments for dissolving them afforded to their adversaries [h].

The company's capital taxed.

They neglect payment, and forfeit their charter.

In this condition did things remain for some time. It was generally imagined that the court would take advantage of the forfeiture, to oblige the commons, without regarding the three years notice stipulated by charter, and esteemed a point of equity: but the influence of the company was greater than was supposed, and sufficient to suspend the effects of their indiscretion. So little was the court disposed to take an advantage of their late slip, that, on the contrary, the directions for drawing a new charter given to the attorney-general, were calculated both to restore the company to their former grants, and to authorize and establish their new regulations. The dispute now became more warm than ever; both sides were inflamed with the different motives of enmity, prejudice, passion, interest, and avarice. The company's adversaries entered caveats against the charter at all the offices, and talked so big, that the ministry thought it necessary to give them a

The merchants enter caveats against a new charter.

[h] Ralph's Hist. of Eng. A. D. 1693.

regular

regular summons before the council, to shew cause why the company might not be re-established, according to the purport of the intended charter. As the time granted was too short, a fortnight's respite was given, during which time the company petitioned a protection for one thousand two hundred seamen, to be employed as usual in their service. Their opponents also petitioned for four hundred to be employed likewise in the East India trade, which they understood to lie open to all adventurers, but they received no answer [i]. When the day of hearing arrived, the 17th of August, both parties being called in, the council against the company urged, 1. The unseasonableness of passing a charter so near the sitting of parliament, as this trade had been recommended to the peers and commons by a message last session from his majesty. 2. The unlawfulness of an exclusive grant; and 3. The illegality of many powers contained in their former charter, and intended to be renewed in this. On the other hand, the council for the company asserted the power of the prerogative in that and similar cases, admitting of neither precedent or authority to the prejudice of this right. Upon this the opposite council proposed, that an issue might be settled, in which they would chearfully join, that so the point might be decided at common law in the next term. This motion was over-ruled, the company urging, that the matters had been already decided at Westminster-hall, the judges, after a trial, having affirmed their charter. No other reply was made, than that the judgment referred to was given by those very judges who had declared, that the king had a power to dispense with all laws, and that their opinions in both cases should be held of equal authority [k].

Council for both sides are heard in the privy-council.

The council comes to no conclusion.

So equal were the arguments alleged on both sides, that the council broke up without coming to any resolution. After some days spent in expectation, the associated merchants renewed their petition for protections, accompanying it with another, setting forth, that they were advised, that the charters of the company becoming void by act of parliament, could not be restored; that they ought not to be restored, as they contained powers repugnant to the laws, to Magna Charta, and several statutes; that under colour of these powers, the company had greatly oppressed his majesty's subjects, and they would now more than

The merchants present a petition to the council.

[i] Harris, vol. ii. book i. chap. 2.

[k] Lord Somers's Col. vol. xxx. p. 100.

ever

ever think themselves authorised so to do: they prayed, therefore, that passing the said charter might be suspended till the common right of the subject to the India trade might be determined by due course of law. Petitions were endless: this last they backed with two others, one from the linen-drapers dealing in East India goods; another from the clothiers and other woollen manufacturers of Glocestershire: the latter solicited, that as the trade to Turkey and the Streights was in a manner wholly obstructed, whence little or no cloth was was sold; and that as their stock could not hold out to employ the poor, who daily cried at their doors for work, a general liberty might be granted at this time, to export freely woollen manufactures to the East Indies; affirming, that this trade was capable of taking off ten times the quantity yearly, which the company exported. The petition from the linen-drapers suggested, that the trade to the East Indies was much impaired, and in danger of being lost, through the mal-administration of the company; that in consequence of their misconduct, such was the scarcity of callicoes, that the kingdom was chiefly supplied with them by stealth from Holland at an exorbitant price, to the destruction of trade, and diminution of the revenue. They prayed, that to prevent a monopoly of the said trade in the hands of those by whom it was so abused, the charter might not pass [1].

The clothiers and linen-drapers petition against the company.

A coalition of so many considerable bodies so far alarmed the ministry, that they thought fit to transmit copies of those several papers to the company, and to require their answer in writing, to the several particulars and objections contained in them. On the next council day, their secretary did accordingly present to the board a written answer to this effect. That such licentious and indiscriminate a traffick would necessarily end in the ruin of the trade, and prejudice of the nation. That although in strictness of law charters should be avoided, the king in this instance was his own chancellor, and might, as a point of equity and justice, restore their's. This they said, was the more reasonable, as the tax required on stock by the parliament, was ready for payment, and would have been paid on Lady-day, had the Exchequer been open; for it was actually paid a few days after. That nothing illegal appeared either in the restitution or the clauses of the charter; because by an express clause therein, the company

The company answers the petitions.

[1] Ralph, vol. ii. A. D. 1693. Harris, vol. ii. book i. chap. 2.

was

was to be restored to nothing but what they lawfully held. In answer to the clothiers petition, they urged that their not being permitted, in the years 1689 and 1690, to send out more than four ships, by reason of the situation of the kingdom, was the reason why a less quantity of woollen goods than otherwise would have happened, was exported. That for the two last years they had sent to India to the amount of one hundred thousand pounds in cloth and other goods. That this year, pursuant to the votes of the House of Commons (Q), a larger quantity than ever was intended

(Q) It must be observed, that on the 14th of November, the preceding year, Sir Edward Seymour, by the king's command, had laid before the house a copy of the new regulations proposed in the India trade, together with the company's objections to those regulations. He also laid before the house the opinion of the judges, that three years notice must be given to the company before they could be legally dissolved, or a new one erected. This was the reason his majesty left it to the commons to act as they saw proper. On the same day that these reports were made, the associated merchants presented a petition for dissolving the company. On the 17th, the pretensions of both sides were examined, the issue of which day's debates was a resolution, nemine contradicente, that a bill should be brought for regulating, preserving, and establishing the East India trade to this kingdom. On the 24th it was farther resolved, in a committee of the whole house, that a new subscription for a joint stock should be opened, not exceeding two millions sterling, and not less than one million five hundred thousand pounds, to continue for twenty-one years. On the 7th of December, it was yet farther resolved, that no individuals should possess a share exceeding ten thousand pounds; that the deputy governor should have ten thousand pounds; with several particulars coinciding with what we have related of the privy council.

All these several heads having been agreed upon, it was resolved to move the house that a bill might be brought in thereon to settle the said trade. On the 10th of December, the report was made and received, and it was now expected, at least by the public, that the whole affair would be brought to a speedy issue. But the company, it would appear, understood intrigue as well as the court; for all of a sudden the heat with which the house pursued the affair, subsided; the chairman grew tired of his seat; and though, on the 4th of January, advantage was taken of a thin house to procure a vote, that the subscription for a new stock should be opened ten days after passing the act, yet no farther progress was made in the bill.

intended for exportation, in case they might be allowed sufficient shipping. That as to the scarcity of callicoes charged upon them, it was occasioned by the loss of three of their homeward-bound fleet; namely, two wrecked and one blown up. That the said scarcity would soon be remedied by two ships already arrived, five more expected this year, and nine the next. Lastly, that as to the petitions of their opponents for protections for four hundred men, they conceived them as intended to gain countenance from their majesties, that the petitioners might, by her majesty's permission of so licentious a trade as was solicited, invade and lessen her royal prerogative of restoring the company to their charter; they humbly hoped therefore, that no such allowance would be granted. In consequence of this written answer, an order of council was issued, that a copy should be given to the parties concerned, who were to attend upon a day appointed for a hearing; namely, the 21st of September [1]. Accordingly, at this time the associated merchants delivered in a written reply, in which they asserted, that instead of managing the trade for the honour of the nation, as the company had boldly averred in their own commendation, they were ready to prove their unjust and unwarrantable actions a scandal to religion, to morals, the crown, and the nation; a reproach to our laws; an oppression of the people, and the ruin of trade; for which they and some of their agents had been reprimanded by parliament. That the company, in avoiding a trial of the merits of the cause by a due course of law, and soliciting a determination before her majesty in council, where they knew it would not be determined, tacitly confessed a conviction that the law was against them. That the charter they solicited, was a creation of a new

A day appointed for a hearing of both parties.

The arguments advanced by the merchants.

[1] Ralph, vol. ii. A. D. 1693.

Nay, as if the business of the house was to husband the job with the utmost frugality, it was finally resolved, on the 25th of February, 1693, that an address of the whole house should humbly be presented to his majesty, that he would be pleased to dissolve the said company, upon three years notice, according to the condition of their charter. Accordingly, on on the 2d of March the said address was presented; to which his majesty only replied, "Gentlemen, I always will do all the good in my power for this kingdom, and I will consider your address (1)."

(1) Debates of the Commons, A. D. 1693. Somers's Coll. vol. xxx. Ralph's Hist. vol. ii.

rather

rather than a reſtoration of their former powers. That their ſo eagerly purſuing the point, when a ſitting of parliament was ſo near, argued a purpoſe in them to take the ſettlement of the trade out of thoſe hands to which his majeſty had committed it. That as to their pretence of equity in caſes of penalty and forfeiture, there could be no equity againſt the penalty of an act of parliament. That what they averred of their intention to pay the tax on ſtock on Lady-day, if the Exchequer had been open, was falſe; for it appeared by ſeveral affidavits, which they were ready to produce, that the office doors were open till the uſual hours of ſhutting; that the officers were in waiting; that public buſineſs was diſpatched; and that the money would have been received had it been offered. That all the company's arguments drawn from the rights and powers of the prerogative, were of no validity againſt poſitive and expreſs laws. That they claimed the benefit of the law as their undoubted right, by virtue of which (as they were adviſed) all her majeſty's ſubjects were equally intitled to the freedom of foreign trade, and could not, under colour of any grant from the crown, be reſtrained from it. That both the clauſe in the new charter, which reſtrains the grant to ſuch powers as the company might have lawfully exerciſed in virtue of the old, and what is replied to that clauſe was evaſive and equivocal, becauſe the company were thereby left in poſſeſſion of all the powers which they thought lawful. How they were likely to interpret them, might be judged from their conduct at St. Helena, in condemning thirteen perſons by the martial law; which execution the parliament had voted a murder. That the conſtruction put on the merchants petition by the company, was a forced and unnatural one, ſince it had not the leaſt tendency to diminiſh the royal prerogative, but only by virtue of the prerogative, to ſecure four hundred men in the quiet exerciſe of their callings, to the general advantage of the nation, and the particular advantage of the revenue. Laſtly, they humbly prayed, that the ſettlement of the trade might rather be left to parliament, or the right be determined by due courſe of law, before a new charter was granted; that they might be favoured with the requeſted protections; in conſequence of which, an addition of ſixty thouſand pounds would accrue to the cuſtoms, and one branch of commerce be moſt ſeaſonably opened, at a time when, by reaſon of the war, all others were in a manner ſhut and obſtructed [m].

[m] Somers's Coll. vol. xxx. p. 105.

The company's reply.

To this sensible and spirited reply, they subjoined an abstract of some few of those numerous precedents in common law, on which the said reply was founded. The linen-drapers also give in a reply to that part of the company's answer which related to their petition. Nor were the clothiers less forward in their zeal, having prepared a reply on their behalf, which, however, they were induced to suppress. To supply this deficiency, the merchants presented a draft from the Custom-house books, of all the cloth exported for the five last years by the company. By this it appeared, that the whole amounted only to one thousand eight hundred and twenty-seven cloths; whereas in 1692 only nine hundred and fifty-three cloths had been exported in two private ships, about three times the quantity the company had exported in any three of the said five years. They enforced the whole by a petition from the freighters and owners of the said two ships, praying, that the illegal clauses in the former charters might be particularly excepted, that so the liberties, lives, and estates of their factors, agents, servants, mariners, and others of their fellow-subjects, might not be invaded in places so remote, where they could neither secure themselves against outrages, nor obtain a remedy; the aggressors being out of the reach of the ordinary law of the kingdom [n].

The company are espoused by some persons of rank and weight in the administration.

However, all their endeavours proved ineffectual; the company had a powerful interest, and the countenance of some great personages. No answer was given to the petition for protection to the four hundred seamen; wherefore the merchants made a new effort on that head, by way of inducement, undertaking to export more cloth in this present year, than the company had done for the five preceding. They likewise promised to furnish the government, on the return of their ships, with five hundred tons of salt-petre at three pounds per hundred weight, which now sold at eight pounds. They affirmed the state of the company to be so low, that they had neither sufficient stock of their own in England, to load the ships they petitioned for, nor in India to load them back again. That as, by reason of the war, the petitioners were in effect deprived of their livelihood; and as the India trade was the most profitable, as well as least hazardous commerce of any, it was their humble request, that in order to repair their losses, protection for this year might be

[n] Somers's Collect. ibid. Ralph. sub. An. 1693-4 vol. ii.

granted

granted them for the above seamen: but they were no less unsuccessful in this than in the former petitions. So far was the council from complying with their request, that they issued an order, September 28, to either of the secretaries, to prepare a warrant for her majesty's signature, for passing the charter. Notwithstanding the merchants were heard by their council, upon the caveats they had entered; notwithstanding they had in particular presented to the lord-keeper Somers a paper, containing their reasons against granting the charter, and such as seemed unanswerable; such was the influence, intrigue, and power of the company, that they obtained their charter, which, however, was less explicit and full than they expected [o]. The council knowing the determined spirit of the opposing party, and apprehending they would bring the dispute again before the parliament, were careful so to limit the grants, that they should not amount to an absolute exclusion of all others. They likewise provided, that the company should submit to such alterations, restrictions, and qualifications as the king should direct before the 29th of September following.

An order is given for renewing the company's charter.

The penalty annexed to a transgression of these restrictions was, that letters of revocation should be issued, whereby all their powers and privileges should be rendered null and void, and of no effect. It was also stipulated, that the governor and company should once every year, in the month of August, transmit to the privy-council, a true and faithful account of the qualities, quantities, and value at prime cost, of the goods and manufactures of England by them exported, together with the place from whence exported, and this certified by the oaths of the officers of the customs, and of the company's servants. It was at the same time provided, that none of the goods and merchandize so exported, should be relanded in the dominions of Great Britain, nor conveyed to any other ports beyond sea, than the places limited by charter. It was farther ordered, that on application made by six or more proprietors, each of whom should be possessed of one thousand pounds capital stock in the funds of the company, demanding a general court to be held, that then the governor or deputy governor, should, within eight days after the above application, call such a court, which

[o] Harris, tit. ii. book i. cap. 2.

might not be adjourned but by consent of the majority of proprietors then assembled [p].

Still, however, the company received other favours, though less directly. They applied to the queen in council, that a stop might be put to the sailing of the ship Redbridge, under pretence that she was bound for the East Indies, though entered and cleared for Alicant. Upon which application, the ship was accordingly stopped, and detained at the expence to the owners of nine pounds per day. Nor was she permitted to set sail, till the owners had undeniably demonstrated, that she was actually bound, by charter-party, to Alicant; and to return from thence directly to London, in company with four more ships. Although matters were thus carried against the associated merchants at court, they came to a resolution, to lay a summary in print before the public, of all the transactions during the recess. This step they actually took, inferring from the whole, that such proceeding, if not checked, would render all the foreign trade of England precarious, by subjecting it to interruption, from the caprice, insolence, or malice of any one committee-man of the East India company. That admitting such a power in the crown would be of dangerous consequence, as having a direct tendency to induce future kings to farm out all trade, and so to raise money without the assistance of parliaments. And that asserting the right of the subject was become the more necessary, as the omitting it so long had paved the way for pleading prescription, which had been urged as an argument of the power of the crown to restrain this trade.

The company abuse the indulgence shewn them.

A.D. 1694. In spite of all the power, vigour and justice on the side of the associated merchants, the company, on the credit of their newly acquired charter, proceeded to take in subscriptions to the amount of forty-four thousand pounds, which filled with infinitely more expedition than was expected. Their adversaries then, as the next step, presented a petition to the house of commons, founded on the several facts, claims, and authorities already recited. They requested, that from this consideration, the trade to India might be established by the authority of parliament. That their pretensions might be favourably heard by the house, and they be set upon an equal footing with the company, they assiduously courted the new ministry,

The company actually open a new subscription.

[p] Somers's Collect. ibid.

appeared

appeared at the levies of the moſt popular noblemen, and careſſed the leading members of the lower houſe. On the other hand, the company, not ſatisfied with a bare defence of the charter they had obtained by their influences at court, laboured to have it ratified by a parliamentary ſanction. But here they found a ſtrong current againſt them; their friends were chiefly of the tory party, whoſe influence was on the decline[q]. The conduct of the commons indicated an intention of ſiding with the ſtrongeſt, or implicitly coinciding with the meaſures of the new adminiſtration; while the miniſters thought it adviſeable that ſome tenderneſs ſhould be ſhewn the company, and the affair kept in ſuſpence, till ſome advantage could be drawn from it.

The merchants apply again to the parliament.

The ambiguous conduct of the commons.

The company relied greatly upon the influence that had put her in poſſeſſion of her two charters (S). Nor were their adverſaries leſs ſanguine in the intereſt they imagined they had with the commons and new miniſtry. It was the general opinion, that all thoſe powers and advantages ſecured to the former by ſo many charters, would have ſettled their affairs upon a ſolid baſis, and eſpecially in a reign that ſeemed to deny them nothing. This was, however, far from being true at this juncture. The difficulties to which the adminiſtration were driven, and the poverty of the government, induced them to a violation of thoſe very charters they had granted; for which the company had paid exorbitant ſums, and on the faith of which ſo many perſons of all ranks had thrown their fortunes into the company's capital. It was in fact a trial which ſide ſhould bribe the higheſt, public authority inclining to one or other, as the irreſiſtible force of gold directed.

Corruption of the court.

In this ſtate were affairs when the merchants petition to the commons was taken into conſideration. After all the allegations contained in it had been repeatedly debated, and after the charters granted to the company, their new ſubſcription, the ſtate of their ſtock, and every other particular relating to the merits of the cauſe had been examined, the iſſue of all was, that in effect the trade was laid open in virtue of this reſolution: "That all the ſub-

The commons resume the conſideration of the diſpute.

[q] Rapin, Reign of king William.

(S) Namely, that of October the 7th, A. D. 1693, and a charter of regulations, dated November 17, following.

jects of England had an equal right to trade to the East Indies, unless prohibited by parliament." But no censure was passed on the charters, or the manner of obtaining them; nor was any scheme for regulating the trade by authority of parliament adopted. The following year it was notorious, that voting was become a lucrative trade, and that members of the house became sharers in every pro-
A.D. 1695. fitable adventure referred to parliament. In the present instance it was well known, that the favour shewn by the court to the East India company proceeded from the same source. It was soon proved by a discovery of facts both at court and in the house of commons. An enquiry was therefore set on foot, and it was so contrived, that the same committee which had the inspection of the chamberlain's books should also examine those of the company. The first thing that occurred was an abstract of all monies paid for the special service of the company since the year 1687, which served as a clue to their subsequent proceedings. Here it appeared, that the charge for special service before the dispute between the merchants and company, never exceeded ten thousand pounds, and in general was from one thousand two hundred to three thousand pounds; whereas this last year it amounted to eighty thousand four hundred and sixty-eight pounds sixteen shillings and eight pence, a sum by several thousand pounds short of what in fact had been expended [r].

A discovery made of extraordinary sums expended in secret services.

Sir Thomas Cooke and Mr. Tyffon had been governor and deputy for the two last years; it was probable, therefore, that the secret lay in the former. In order to a regular train of discovery, recourse was had to the minute-books of the court of committees. In these entries were found, of certain informations given by the governor, of his endeavours to obtain a new charter, together with accounts of sums disbursed in this pursuit, but without descending to particulars, which was a method of proceeding never before permitted. Among the entries were likewise found orders to their cashiers to make payment of such sums of money for the company's service as the governor should direct. Proceeding next to such other particulars as could be discovered, the committee observed, that the money issued by Herne and Cooke, while the latter was deputy only, was expended upon private service, but brought to account under general charges. The equivo-

[r] Ralph. ibid. Harris and Dodsley, ibid.

cation

cation of Cooke, the acknowlegements of Sir Benjamin Bathurſt, one of the court of committees, with many other circumſtances, put it beyond all doubt that bribery and corruption had been practiſed; but yet nothing clear againſt any individual could be made out. Sir Thomas Cooke owned, that the ninety thouſand pounds was to gratify certain perſons, if the bill ſhould paſs; but he would give no account of the diſtribution. Sir Baſil Firebrace acknowleged his having received ſixteen thouſand pounds, which he had laid out in ſtock, with the company's permiſſion. As to an accommodation with the merchants (interlopers, as they were called) for buying their ſhares in this private trade, at twenty-five per cent. advance, and half the profit, the committee was informed, that lord Nottingham had acquainted the company by letter, that his majeſty's pleaſure was, they ſhould come to an agreement: that about one half accepted the terms; but Meſſrs. Godfrey and Colſton inſiſting upon thirty per cent. the reſt went off. Beſides, it was imagined the contract for ſaltpetre to be imported in the ſhip Seymour, made with Colſton, was only in truſt with him for ſome other perſon, though the original inducement for the leave given.

The committee report their diſcoveries to the houſe.

In this light it was that this unprecedented affair appeared in the report of the committee to the houſe. The report was made on March the 12th, yet was Cooke's examination put off till the 26th. As he was a member, decency and juſtice required that he ſhould immediately be examined. All of a ſudden, the phlegm of the houſe was converted into choler; the heat with which they now purſued the enquiry was equal to the coldneſs with which they a few days ſince regarded it. Cooke, on refuſing to anſwer the queſtions put to him, was committed to the Tower, and a bill of pains and penalties ordered in to oblige him to account for the ſum of ſeventeen thouſand three hundred and two pounds twelve ſhillings and three pence mentioned in the report. The bill was read on the twenty-ninth, and referred to a committee of the whole houſe, when Cooke deſired leave to be heard againſt it by his council. After ſome amendments on it, Cooke's council were heard a ſecond time; after which the bill was paſſed, and ſent up to the lords. Here it took a different turn: the duke of Leeds, after ſolemn aſſeverations of purity and innocence, exclaimed with great warmth againſt the bill: he exhauſted his whole ſtock of eloquence to convince the lords that they ought to reject it, as contrary

Sir Thomas Cooke committed to the Tower.

trary to law and equity, and furnishing a dangerous precedent. Either his grace's elocution, or something else more powerful, prevailed. For seven days the bill was entirely dropt; and when resumed, an expedient was found to keep matters in agitation, and yet avoid the chief aim. Cooke petitioned for a bill of indemnity, saying, that nothing besides prevented his making ample discovery. He made his apology to the commons for making this request to the lords, their refusal occasioning this appeal. A bill accordingly was prepared to indemnify him against all suits and actions, those of the India company excepted, and sent down to the commons on the 17th. After having tacked a penal clause to it, by way of amendment, it was returned, and the lords signified their concurrence to the amendment, by a message on the 19th. By this means the two bills were in effect reduced to one; notwithstanding which unanimity and seeming ardor for the discovery of transactions so black and infamous, all that was done for several days was the appointing a committee to make the inquest. All parties, the patriot, the courtier, the whig and the tory, equally affected a concern for the prosecution; nor is it to be doubted that they were equally concerned in it: each had friends to screen, and enemies to expose; and the point of contest probably was, which of the parties should be made answerable to the public. In short, after Cooke had given in a written discovery, in which several persons of note in both houses were hinted at as having touched the company's money; after Firebrace, Acton, and Bates had been examined, and next Sir J. Child, Tysson, and Craggs, an imputation fixed on the duke of Leeds, and an easy clue for discovery in their hands, the whole affair was dropt, never to be resumed, as if by unanimous consent. Hence it was concluded, that too many of all parties were deeply concerned in the dirty job[s]. Bishop Burnet, and all succeeding historians, seem to join in this opinion; and, indeed, from the evidences of Cooke, Firebrace, Acton, Child, and others, it is difficult to determine where the greater share of this scandalous corruption lay.

A.D. 1698. Thus stood the whole process till the year 1698, the ministry indulging private merchants with licences, in contempt of those exclusive charters they had granted to the company, while this last was reduced to poverty and dis-

The enquiry stops.

[s] Somers's Collect. Ralph. A. D. 1694. Harris, vol. ii. book i. chap. 2.

grace

grace by the exorbitant sums expended in prosecution of those charters, and the discoveries made of their unconstitutional corruption. Now a greater stroke was requisite; the sum wanted by the government was two millions. It was not believed that any number of new proprietors would advance so large a sum for a new charter on the credit of an administration that had so lately prevaricated with the company. The affair was therefore laid before the house of commons, in order to have every thing settled upon a solid basis, that of national security. This was the time when ministerial service was deemed the highest political merit; nay, when ministers were to be gratified in all their demands, and that in the way and manner in which they desired. Some considerable persons first sounded the company, to know how they stood disposed to advance money by loan, in consideration of a settlement by authority of parliament. Undertakers were found to lay the proposition before a general court; but the persons entrusted with the management, either from want of address, courage or zeal, suffered the affair to languish in their hands. The occasion was urgent; the court, wearied with expectation, had now an opportunity offered of striking in with the merchants, which was accordingly done: by this the motions of the company were quickened; they were sensible, that no alteration in the present course of trade could be made without affecting their charter, which but four years ago had cost them so dear, or their profits, or both [t].

The company offer a loan of seven hundred thousand pounds.

Under these apprehensions it was resolved in a general court to advance the sum of seven hundred thousand pounds in procuring a parliamentary settlement, as had been some time before suggested to them. This sum was determined upon, because it had appeared to be the sense of the public, that considering their losses by the war, a constitutional establishment might be granted them for a loan of six hundred thousand pounds. The resolution was presented to the ministry, and by them to the House of Commons. Both the court and commons seemed disposed to accept the offer; but this was but a snare; for in the mean time a new bill, under the direction of Mr. Montagu, was preparing. By this, a method for raising two millions, by way of loan, at eight per cent. on the security of a fund sufficient for repaying both principal and interest, was proposed. This proposal was laid before the house

Mr. Montagu proposes a scheme for raising the two millions.

[t] Ralph, vol. ii. A. D. 1698.

on

on the 20th of May; and so much favour did it find with the majority, that a bill agreeable to it was ordered to be brought into the house with the following additions: namely, 1. That every subscriber have liberty of trading yearly to the amount of his subscription, or assign over this right to any other. 2. That his majesty have power to incorporate such of those subscribers as should desire it. 3. That the privileges for conducting the East India trade be settled by parliament. 4. That the subscribers enjoy eight per cent. and the liberty of trading to India, exclusive of all others, for the term of ten years, and till the sum subscribed be redeemed by parliament. 5. That every share of five hundred pounds have a vote; and no person enjoy more than one vote. 6. That all ships loaded in India should unload in England. 7. That no person being a member of any corporation trading to England, should trade otherwise than in the joint stock of such corporation of which he was a member. 8. That five pounds per ann. ad valorem be paid by the importer on all returns from the East Indies, to be placed to the account of the subscribers, towards the expence of embassies, and other extraordinary charges. 9. That besides the duties now payable, a farther duty of one shilling and ten pence per lb. be laid on all wrought silks imported from India and Persia; this to be paid by the importer [u].

The company's offer rejected, and they petition the parliament.

Although the company were informed by hints that their offer even of raising the two millions would be rejected, yet did they by petition appeal to the justice and equity of the parliament, as well as to the public. They again recited their rights and claims under so many royal charters, particularly the last, calculated to remove every reasonable objection, and superinduce many national advantages, agreeable to several regulations proposed and resolved in the house of commons; no forfeiture of which either had or could be urged. 2. The regard that was due to the property of above a thousand families engaged deeply in the stock, and in particular to seven hundred and eighty-one new adventurers, who subscribed on the credit of the new charter the sum of seven hundred and forty-four thousand pounds. Nor was the company's property in India, amounting to forty-four thousand pounds per annum revenue, a consideration undeserving of notice, before an attempt was made to deprive them of it. 3.

[u] Debates of the House of Commons, A. D. 1693.

The

The expence the company had been at in fortifications, amounting to a million ſterling. 4th. Their loſſes during the war, by which, ſince their laſt ſubſcription, twelve great ſhips, worth a million and a half, had been wrecked or taken by the enemy. 5th. Their merits to the government, their contributing ſo largely to the cuſtoms, their furniſhing a great quantity of powder on a preſſing emergency, and advancing eighty thouſand pounds for circulating exchequer bills in a caſe of extremity, at that time eſteemed a very important ſervice [w].

The petition was read a ſecond time, and proceeded upon as a point of buſineſs immediately to be diſpatched; yet when the company, in conſequence of a reſolution of the general court, offered to ſubmit their ſtock to a valuation of fifty per cent. which they were content to warrant at the ſum, and to open ſubſcriptions for the two millions, this conceſſion produced nothing favourable to them. On the contrary, the committee appointed to inſpect their books, ſtock, &c. made their report three days after, by which it appeared, that the company had not only, at ſeveral different periods, greatly over-rated their ſtock, and raiſed their dividends above the profits, but alſo, that out of the new ſubſcription, a ſum of three hundred twenty-five thouſand five hundred ſixty-five pounds and four pence, was paid to the proprietors, together with ſeveral ſums for bribery, corruption, and the purpoſes of venality, under the article of ſpecial ſervice. Hence a motion was made, for giving ſatisfaction to the new ſubſcribers, for all damages done them, by making dividends beyond the real value of the ſtock; and alſo by the payment of the above ſums to the old proprietors out of the eſtate of the new. The debate on this motion was, however, adjourned till the next day, when the company made it appear, that the ſaid payment was made by the conſent of the new ſubſcribers, upon which the motion was dropt [x].

An unfavourable report of the ſtate of the company made to the houſe.

Alarmed by ſuch an attack, and juſtly apprehenſive of what was next to enſue, the directors called another general court of the proprietors, in which the perſons of the moſt credit agreed to open an immediate ſubſcription of two hundred thouſand pounds, as the firſt payment of the two millions, and ſubject to forfeiture, in caſe the ſubſequent payments were not made good. Propoſals on this

The company reſolves to advance two hundred thouſand pounds as the firſt payment of two millions.

w Somers's Collect. vol. xxx. p. 129.

x Debates of the Commons, A. D. 1698.

plan

plan were, the ſame day, preſented to the commons, as were alſo thoſe of the merchants. The latter appeared to the miniſtry the moſt reaſonable, and accordingly had the preference. Their ſway was great, and the whole buſineſs of the nation was made a jobb. The new company, as it now began to be called, was formed out of the old interlopers, although it did not include all the private traders that went by this name. Such of them, whoſe ſtocks were better ſuited to a ſeparate than a joint trade, and who found themſelves more likely to be excluded now than ever they were, equally oppoſed the pretenſions of both contending parties. They publiſhed a ſenſible pamphlet, intitled, A Letter to a Gentleman, in which the reaſoning againſt an excluſive trade, in the manner in which it had been conducted, was forcible, convincing, and ſpirited, but unſucceſsful, as it did not ſquare with the views of the court and commons. The bill, againſt which they oppoſed all their might, was paſſed by the commons, and ſent up to the peers. The old company, having obtained leave to be heard by their council, inſiſted, as before, upon their rights by charter, and even vigorouſly attacked the new regulations, in the bill, aſſerting them to be leſs beneficial to the public than thoſe inſerted in their laſt charter. According to the charter they were obliged to take in additional ſubſcriptions, to the amount of ſeven hundred and forty-four thouſand pounds, whereas, by the preſent bill, no proviſion was made for any certain ſtock. They were likewiſe obliged to export home manufactures, to the value of a hundred thouſand pounds per annum, whereas the new ſubſcribers were laid under no ſuch obligation. By their charter, none but natural born ſubjects, and perſons naturalized, had the privilege of a ſhare; but the new bill admitted foreigners, a circumſtance which might produce effects pernicious to the general good of the nation. Though the old company had offered to raiſe two millions, the new were obliged, by the bill, to raiſe no more than one: it was therefore not unreaſonable to queſtion, whether the remaining million would be raiſed by voluntary ſubſcription? Laſtly, the council for the old company urged, that whereas, by the votes of peers and commons, the beſt way to carry on a trade was by a joint ſtock, excluſive of all others, the bill provided both for a joint ſtock and a ſeparate trade; a circumſtance which they apprehended, would increaſe the difficulty of raiſing the two millions. Theſe were the arguments advanced in

A bill paſſes the houſe in favour of the merchants.

in allegation of their right, and againſt the claim of their adverſaries, by the company.

What deſerves the moſt notice, in the anſwer of the merchants to this plea, are two aſſertions; the one, that the charter had been obtained by irregular means; the other, that it was not in the power of the crown, without conſent of parliament, to grant an excluſive charter. Thus the corruption of the legiſlature was avowed on one hand, and the royal prerogative attacked on the other. The miniſterial intereſt, it is true, ran ſtrongly in favour of the bill; yet did a number of peers of the firſt diſtinction, weight, and authority, oppoſe it with vehemence. No argument, legal artifice, or trick of parliament were omitted to diſpute or impede its progreſs. After the bill had paſſed by a majority of twenty-ſeven voices, a proteſt was ſigned by twenty-one peers, among whom was the Lord Godolphin, then firſt commiſſioner of the treaſury. *The reply of the merchants.*

"This act, together with the inclinations which thoſe whigs, who were in good poſts, had expreſſed for keeping up a greater land force, did contribute to the blaſting the reputation they had hitherto maintained of being good patriots, and was made uſe of by the tories to diſgrace both the king and them. To this another charge of a high nature was added, that they robbed the public, and applied much of the money that was given for the ſervice of the nation, both to the ſupporting a vaſt expence, and to the raiſing great eſtates among themſelves. This was ſenſible to the people, who were uneaſy under heavy taxes, and too ready to believe that, according to the practice in king Charles's time, a great deal of the money that was given in parliament was divided among thoſe who gave it. Theſe clamours were raiſed and managed with great dexterity by thoſe who intended to render the king, and all who were beſt affected to him, ſo odious to the nation, that by this means they might carry ſuch an election of a new houſe of commons, as that by it all might be overturned. It was ſaid that the bank of England, and the new Eaſt India company, being in the hands of whigs, they would have the command of all the money, and by conſequence of all the trade of England[y]". Notwithſtanding the opinion of the proteſting lords, the miniſtry was fully perſuaded that the old company would not give ſecurity for a ſubſcription of two millions, the ſum wanted; they were equally perſuaded, that no number of new *Biſhop Burnet's remark on the whole proceeding.*

The miniſtry puſh the intereſt of the merchants.

[y] Burnet's Hiſtory of his own Times, p. 170, fol. edit.

proprietors

proprietors would advance so great a sum without the sanction of parliament; and they were made to believe, that though half was only stipulated, yet that the remaining million would soon be voluntarily subscribed for, if this check was given to the old company. These considerations determined them to push the affair in parliament with all their strength. Nothing was wanting by the old company that money or eloquence could effect; but the bill passed with the peers and commons. It was, indeed, a thing determined to sacrifice justice and the company to the artifice of certain persons, and to the necessities of the government. However strong the arguments for laying open the trade may be, yet we cannot but esteem it an act of the most flagrant injustice to rob the old company of rights which they had done nothing to forfeit since the last grant, and to give to other persons an exclusive right, which had been solemnly made over to them but four years before.

Thus a new company was constituted and incorporated by law, at the price of a loan of two millions, for which they received interest at the rate of eight per cent. though by subsequent acts of the legislature it has been reduced [z].

A.D. 1699. Although the old company did not look upon themselves as dissolved; yet so diffident were they of their right, that they assiduously applied to parliament to be continued as a company during the remainder of their charter. Nor was the new company in a condition to withstand this effort. Montagu, their great patron, was no longer lord of the ascendant either in the cabinet or in the house. During the suspence of the supply for the year, the commons, of all the branches of the constitution, assumed the most consideration. The old company set out with distributing their case in print at the door of both houses, in which they made the most of the equity of their claim, and the injuries they had sustained. The new company took a similar method to answer them, in which, for the sake of exposing the corrupt practices of their adversaries, they again laid open the venality of the court, with as much freedom as if there had not been the least room to suspect, that to a corrupt influence in parliament they owed their very existence; but their invectives served only to exasperate; they were imprudent and ill-timed, by exciting resentments fatal and destructive of their arguments. Though the old company could not prevent

The old company continued during the remainder of their charter.

[z] Harris, vol. ii. book i. chap. 2. Ralph, A. D. 1698-9.

the

the establishment of the new, they yet had sufficient influence to procure a like establishment for themselves. The bill for authorizing their charter by parliament passed in defiance of all the opposition that was made. Thus the nation had two East India companies constituted upon parliamentary authority, instead of one, by an act of royal prerogative[a].

Their charter authorized by parliament.

The two companies appeared now as solicitous for each other's destruction, as before each had been for its own establishment. They had both tasted the sweets of the profits accruing from the trade, and looked on each other with that jealousy and deep resentment which ambition and avarice will ever inspire. In the year 1700 they had both been detected in bribery and corruption at elections. The old, indeed, began with corrupting members, and purchasing voices in the house: the new followed their example with a little variation; for instead of purchasing votes, they bought seats; instead of corrupting the representatives, they began with bribing the constituents, and securing a majority in the house. A great number of attempts to unite both the companies for the two last years were made, but they were ineffectual.

A. D. 1701.

The commons had appointed a committee to receive proposals for paying off the public debts, and advancing the credit of the nation. To this committee did the old company propose, by the interposition of their old factor, sir Thomas Cooke, to pay the principal and interest of so much of the two millions as had been advanced by the new company and separate traders, at an interest of eight per cent. This sum, which was the consideration of their establishment, amounted on the whole to one million six hundred and eighty-eight thousand pounds. As to the remainder of the two millions it was advanced by the old company at five per cent. payable out of certain funds already settled by act of parliament. With what views and with what ends this loan was made, at an interest so low, does not appear; probably it was the price of their parliamentary establishment. The principal money so paid (which was to be at ten payments in twenty months) to be redeemable in a certain number of years, to be determined by the house, and subject to such regulations and restrictions as might be necessary for the public good, and the preservation, progress, and security of trade. An opening too was to be left for any persons whatsoever to

Proposals made to the house by the old company.

[a] Idem ibid. ubi sup.

subscribe a certain sum to be fixed by the house, and thereby to become proprietors [b].

The clamours of the new company against this proposal.

This was a proposal of dangerous tendency to the new company, and which, if accepted, must infallibly have destroyed them; but they were sufficiently aware of their danger, and vigilant to prevent it. While, therefore, their rivals was drawing up the proposal in form, as they were required to do by the committee, the new company began to talk and write in the same strain their adversaries had formerly used. They declaimed on the importance of preserving the public faith unhurt and unmolested; on the wrong policy of saving sixty thousand pounds per ann. by a measure which would not only disoblige, but even ruin a thousand families, subscribers in the new company. Without reserve they exposed the perfidy of resuming, under any pretence whatsoever, the right (the exclusive right, as they at first understood it to be) vested in them, till the 20th of September, 1711, only because three words had been omitted in the act (S). In short, with such success did they talk, write, and act, that when the committee reported the proposal of the old company to the house, no resolution was taken upon it [c].

Both companies make secret offers of a coalition.

After these civil feuds had continued upwards of two years, at length, both sides growing sick of a quarrel which might possibly terminate in the ruin of both, by laying the trade open, began secretly to think of a reconciliation, and an union of stocks. An agreement was soon determined, by which it was resolved, that the effects of both companies should be brought home with all convenient expedition, to be disposed of for their separate accounts, and all precautions taken for doing it with security: that no advantages, either on the part of the crown or of the new company, should be taken of the old, under pretence of forfeiture: that a release should be given by the two companies to each other reciprocally, and by each of them to their respective factors and servants: that the funds of the old company, amounting to three hundred and fifteen thousand pounds, should immediately, on the execution of the above part of the agreement, be united

[b] Somers's Coll. vol. xxx. p. 152. [c] Harris, vol. ii. ibid.

(S) The words, "and not sooner," having been omitted in the act, the old company laid hold of this mistake, to endeavour to prevail on the commons to restore the grant they had, saying it might be done according to the literal sense of the act.

to

to the capital of the new company: that the old company purchaſe of the new ſix hundred ninety-three thouſand five hundred pounds, in the capital ſtock and fund of one million ſix hundred and ſixty-two thouſand pounds, to be transferred by three of the members in their political capacity; thus the old company may have nine hundred eighty-eight thouſand five hundred pounds in the common funds, an equivalent to the intereſt of the new company therein: that the above ſtock of ſix hundred ſeventy-three thouſand five hundred pounds ſhould be transferred at four ſeveral times, one fourth to be paid for at each transfer, at the rate of par: that the dead ſtock of the old company at home and abroad ſhould be valued at thirty-three thouſand pounds, that of the new company at ſeventy thouſand pounds: the old company ſhould, at the time of transferring their firſt fourth of the ſaid ſix hundred ſeventy-three thouſand five hundred pounds, transfer all their dead ſtock at home and abroad to the new company, the latter paying for one moiety thereof ſixteen thouſand five hundred pounds: that the old company would alſo pay to the new company the ſum of thirty-five thouſand eight hundred pounds, as one moiety of their dead ſtock, upon which the old company ſhall be intitled to one moiety of both dead ſtocks, in the ſame manner as the members of the new. The members of the new company transferring ſhall be entitled to the arrears of their annuities, till the time of the ſaid transfers; after which, all annuities ariſing from the ſtock of the old company (three hundred and fifteen thouſand pounds) to be paid to perſons appointed for that purpoſe by the old company for their uſe. In like manner the new company to enjoy all profits previous to this agreement, and alſo five pounds per cent. on all ſhips entered homeward, or cleared outwards, previous to the ſame agreement; but that each company deſiſt from any ſeparate exportation[d].

It was likewiſe ſtipulated that both companies ſhould, for ſeven years next enſuing, ſhare equally in the adminiſtration of all affairs relating to their funds or commerce; and that twelve perſons ſhould be elected by the general court of each company reſpectively, out of the courts of committees and directors of the ſaid companies, to be nominated in the new charter, the managers of the united trade to India; and that a new and additional ſtock ſhould be raiſed for the ſupport and increaſe of the future trade,

[d] Dodſl. vol. ii. chap. 3 Ralph, Hiſt. Eng. under this year.

to be advanced at the time, and in the manner, determined by the twenty-four directors composed of each court, the general court approving of their determination: that for the seven ensuing years the old company should remain a separate corporation, and preserve their stock as a body politic, with power to transfer and assign in their own books, as at the time of signing their agreement: that at the end of this term they should transfer and assign in the books of the new company their share in the capital, to such members as should then stand entitled to the same, upon which the members of the old company should, without fee or cost, become members of the new: that each company should indemnify the other from their debts and demands, and a proper proviso be made for that purpose: that the new company, from the time that this agreement is in force, should not take up money on their common seal, nor do any other act that related to both, without the consent and concurrence of the old company: that it should be stipulated, agreed, and covenanted between them, that his majesty should, within ten days after making the above assignment, make a re-grant, and that the old company should surrender their charter and act of incorporation within one month after the expiration of the above term of seven years: also that the king should, within ten days after the said surrender, make a new grant to the trustees, and subject to the same trustees, all estate and effects of the old company as should come to or devolve on the crown, by reason of the said surrender: lastly, that immediately from and after the said surrender, the new company should be styled, the United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies: that the future management of the said stock and trade, after the expiration of the term of seven years, should be according to the charter of the new company, bearing date the 5th of September, an. 1698: that there shall be a tripartite indenture for the better obtaining the purposes specified above, to be executed by the king and both the said companies; and that here such provisions and covenants should be made as should be thought reasonable, with proper releases to each company, in such manner as that, as soon as the above term of seven years should be expired, the two companies should thenceforward become one in name and effect [e].

[e] The above cited authors, ibid.

Thus

Thus were the animosities, heats, and enmities between the two companies terminated by an union, equally beneficial to both. The markets, which took advantage of the rivalship between them, were lowered, and the stock to carry on trade was enlarged. *An union effected between the companies.*

But however things might be brought to an amicable crisis at home, by this union of the two companies, it was by no means so abroad for a considerable time. The coalition was well known, but little observed, in those distant parts. Their rancour, jealousy, and enmity seemed to be inflamed by the heat of the climate; and what originally had its rise from interest and selfish notions, was now become constitutional from habit. *The divisions between the companies abroad.*

To give the reader a more distinct idea how far those prejudices were carried, we shall take a succinct view of the settlements abroad, and of the conduct of the governors, factors, and servants of the companies.

Nothing but the cement of avarice and self-interest had held the British subjects engaged in this commerce united. By means of this, persons who secretly entertained the greatest aversion for each other, were forced to a certain degree of compliance, in order to obtain their several ends. It will easily be believed that the companies affairs were in a languid condition, as they were entirely conducted by such as had no other concern for them than in the proportion their private interests were connected with those of their masters. Hence every opportunity of enriching themselves at the expence of their constituents, were laid hold of by the governors and factors. The divisions among the servants of each company arose from opposite private interests, as much as from the enmities between the companies. Neither honour, justice, or humanity were regarded, whenever an occasion of injuring each other, or bettering themselves, occurred; all was conducted by fraud or open force. The ministry were taken up with humbling the exorbitant power of the house of Bourbon; the balance of Europe engrossed their whole attention, and prevented their finding leisure for the more tranquil concerns of manufactures, trade, and commerce. There is nothing, however, more obvious, than that commerce ought to be a principal concern with a British ministry; since the extension of trade is, perhaps, the sole means of raising the power and credit of the nation. Our naval force will ever render us considerable abroad; but this cannot be maintained by any other means than promoting a spirit of trade nd navigation.

SECT. V.

Containing an Act impowering the Company to borrow Money on their Common Seal; an Act to prevent Foreigners from eſtabliſhing a Trade prejudicial to the Intereſt of the Company; ſeveral other Acts in their Favour; Maſſacre of the Factory at Pulo Condore; the Revolt of the Natives at Bencoolen, &c.

The united company reſolve to lend the government money.

AS the views of the miniſtry, during the long war with France, were wholly abſtracted from the concerns of trade, the India company was obliged to deviſe means for the removal of many inconveniencies, which remained after the union of both companies. To obtain ſuch a law as would ſettle their affairs on a proper footing, they reſolved, in the ſixth year of queen Anne, to lend the government the ſum of one million two hundred thouſand pounds, over and above the former loans. This had been a way of procuring the protection of the government of ancient ſtanding, and it was practiſed on this occaſion with ſucceſs. The propoſal was readily embraced; in conſideration of which the parliament was ready to grant whatever they required for the benefit of their trade (T). A law was therefore paſſed, in which it was enacted, that the Engliſh company trading to the Eaſt Indies ſhall pay into the Exchequer the above mentioned ſum at certain ſtated payments, in failure whereof the money to be re-

An act paſſed in favour of the company.

(T) It may be proper to obſerve, that here the India company is to be conſidered in a double capacity, as creditors to the public, and as a trading company. In the firſt they have a ſecurity, as other companies have, for the money they advance to the government, and a proportionable intereſt for it. In their other capacity, their directors are truſtees for the company's trade, the profits of which likewiſe belong to the proprietors. Hence it appears, that the dividends upon their ſtock are compounded of the profits on trade, and the intereſt from the government. This latter being fixed and invariable (except on the reduction of intereſt by parliamentary authority), ſerves as an index to the former; ſince at all times the intereſt paid to the company, being deducted from the dividend paid by them to the proprietors, leaves the clear profits of trade. This ſhort note will ſerve the reader as a key to the nature of Eaſt India ſtocks, the difficulty of underſtanding which we have heard many ſenſible perſons complain of.

covered

covered of the company by action of debt, with twelve per cent. damages; and that the company be impowered to borrow on their common ſeal a ſum of money, the principal not exceeding one million five hundred thouſand pounds, over and above what they were before legally entitled to borrow on their common ſtock. In caſe the governor and company of merchants of London trading to the Eaſt Indies, and the general court of the ſaid company, whilſt they continue ſeparate, ſhall think fit to call in money from their reſpective adventurers, towards raiſing the ſaid ſum of one million two hundred thouſand pounds, or repayment of money borrowed for that purpoſe, they are inveſted with full powers to make ſuch calls. And if any members ſhall neglect or refuſe to pay their money ſo called in, or which the company, in purſuance of ſtatute 9th William III. chap. 44. or their charters, ſhall call in for carrying on their trade (after notice fixed on the Royal Exhange), that then the company may ſtop the dividends payable to ſuch members, and apply the ſame towards ſuch payment, till it be ſatisfied. They may alſo ſtop the transfers of the ſhares of ſuch defaulters, and charge them with intereſt at five per cent. till ſuch payment. If the ſame be neglected for three months, the company may afterwards ſell ſo much of the defaulters ſtock as will amount to the ſum required by the call [f].

The above ſum of one million two hundred thouſand pounds ſhall be deemed an addition to the ſtock of the Engliſh Eaſt India company, and be free of taxes. The united ſtock of the company ſhall be ſubject to the debts contracted by the ſaid company, and ſuch perſons entitled to ſeven thouſand two hundred pounds, part of the two millions original ſtock, as have not united their ſtock to the corporation's, and who are authoriſed to carry on a trade for their ſeparate uſe, may hold and enjoy the trade as if this act had not been made. The company may repay the ſame at the expiration of three years, together with the annuities due thereon, upon which the whole trade ſhall be inveſted in the ſaid company. Diſputes between the two companies, relative to the union between them, to be referred to the arbitration of Sidney, earl of Godolphin. After award is made, and the charter of the governor and company ſurrendered, the perſons who, at the time of the ſurrender, purſuant to an indenture tripartite,

[f] Harris, ubi ſupra. Hamilton, vol. i. Dodſley, vol. ii. chap. 3. J. P. A. D. 1705-6.

made between the queen on the first part, the said governor and company on the second part, and the said company on the third part, shall be directors and managers of the united company, and shall continue in that capacity until new directors are chosen, according to their charter, dated September 5th, and tenth of William III. provided, that after a term limited, and repayment of the said two millions two hundred thousand pounds, and all arrears then due for annuities, which annuities amount to one hundred and sixty thousand pounds per annum, and upon three years notice, that then the aforesaid duties on salt, &c. and the benefit of trade given by this and the former charter cease. This proviso is extended as to the time, by stat. 10 Anne, chap. 28 & 29. and impowers the company to enter such goods as they shall import at the custom-house, by bills at sight or sufferance, and shall give security under their common seal for payment of such customs and duties as are rated in the book of rates, and upon coffee, to be ascertained on the oath of the importer; namely, for payment of one half at the end of six calendar months, and the other half at the end of twelve months. The custom-house officers shall grant to the company such bills at sight or sufferance, and take security as aforesaid, making such allowances and deductions as are made to other merchants paying their customs at or before the landing their goods and merchandize. Nothing, however, herein contained to extend to alter the method of paying the duties of fifteen per cent. on muslins and callicoes, or the duties of any other goods, to be ascertained by sale of candle [g].

An act to prevent foreigners from acquiring a knowlege in the East India commerce.

Not long after the accession of George the First to the British crown, a new evil was discovered, the preventing of which was of the utmost consequence to the whole nation as well as to the company. It was found that various attempts had been made to penetrate into the secrets of this commerce, for the information of foreigners, who projected a scheme for sharing in so beneficial a traffick. To put a stop to so dangerous a design, a bill passed in parliament, and received the royal assent, to render all such practices ineffectual. It was enacted, that all his majesty's subjects, who shall sail or go to the East Indies, or such places of Asia, &c. beyond the Cape of Good Hope, to the Streights of Magellan, contrary to the laws in being, or the tenor of this act, shall be liable to the

[g] Debates of the house under this year.

punish-

punishments inflicted by law for such offences: and it shall be lawful for the united company of English merchants trading to the East Indies, and their successors, to seize such persons, and to send them to England to stand trial, and to be punished according to law: whoever shall solicit, procure, obtain, or act under any commission, authority, or pass from any foreign power, to sail or trade to or in the East Indies, shall forfeit five hundred pounds, whereof one moiety to the informer, another to the crown; the said penalties and forfeitures to be recoverable in any court of record at Westminster [h].

This law ineffectual.

This law notwithstanding its severity, did not produce the intended effect. The profits of the English company, who had, for several years past, divided ten per cent. on their capital, excited a general eagerness among foreigners and others to share in so lucrative a commerce. The English merchants, excluded by the company's charter, thought themselves injured by this monopoly, and determined, if possible, to avoid the penalty by other means projected. This gave occasion, among other plans laid out by our neighbours, to the establishment of a new company at Ostend, of which we shall speak more particularly in another place. In this project so many English traders and merchants were concerned, that, to obviate the inconveniences resulting to the company and nation from the share they had in the new foreign subscription, an act was passed in the ninth year of George the First.

Act to prevent British subjects from encouraging foreign East India commerce.

By this act all the subjects of the three kingdoms were prohibited from encouraging, in any way, the establishment of any foreign company trading from the Austrian Netherlands to any place mentioned in the English company's charter, or to have any interest or share in the stocks or actions of any such foreign company, or to make payment in money, bills, or any other method whatsoever, towards the promoting or support of that or any other foreign company; the persons so offending to forfeit their interest and share in the stocks of such company, with thrice the value thereof; one third to go to the crown, and the remainder to the English company, in case they inform or sue for it; otherwise one third to go to the certain informer, recoverable by action of debt.

Any of his majesty's subjects, not legally authorized, found in the East Indies, are declared guilty of a high misdemeanor, and may be prosecuted for the same; and,

[h] Dodsley, vol. ii. book 3.

if

if found guilty, shall be liable to such corporal punishment, imprisonment, or fine, as the court where the prosecution is commenced shall see fit. And the offenders may be seized and brought to England, and any justice of the peace may commit them to the next county jail, till sufficient security be given by natural born subjects, or denizens, for their appearance in court.

These laws, one would imagine, would be sufficient to prevent British subjects from engaging in schemes pernicious to the nation; yet so far was it otherwise, that all the measures taken since by foreigners, to the prejudice of our commerce, owed their birth, in a great degree, to Britons. To make great fortunes at any rate, was the resolution of numbers of determined pursuers; and no laws were a sufficient barrier against the irresistible motions of ambition and avarice.

Another act passed for the security of commerce.

In the seventh year of George the First, a law was passed for the better preventing an unlawful, and securing a legal commerce to the East Indies. Here it was enacted, that any goods shipped for the East Indies, except goods for the company, goods licensed by them, naval stores, provisions, and necessaries for the ships in their voyage; and all goods taken out of such ships in their voyage homewards from the East Indies and to England, before her arrival here, shall be forfeited, with double the value; and the master or officer of such ships, knowingly permitting such goods to be shipped or unshipped, shall, for every offence, forfeit one thousand pounds, and wages.

Contents of the act of parliament.

All agreements or contracts made or entered into by any of his majesty's subjects, or in trust for them, on the loan of money, by way of bottomry, upon any ship in the service of foreigners, and bound to the East Indies, &c.; and all contracts for loading or supplying any ship with a cargo of any sort of goods, merchandizes, treasure, or effects, or with provisions, stores, or necessaries; and copartnerships entered into with relation to any such voyage; shall be void. Every subject of his majesty that shall go to the East Indies, contrary to the laws now in force, shall be deemed a trader, and to have traded there; and all the goods there bartered or trafficked for, purchased by such person, or found in his custody, or any other in trust for him, by his order or procurement, shall be forfeited, with double the value.

Thus have we seen the East India company struggle with a variety of difficulties, dangers, and perplexities, through a se-

a series of years. They were partly owing to the maxims of certain leading men in the nation, who obliged them to purchase every favour at an exorbitant price. The Dutch too had been the cause of numberless hazards to them. This advantage the Hollanders had over the English, that they were always sure of the utmost support from their government, and were permitted to conduct their affairs in the manner they thought most advantageous, in a sovereign and independent manner. Of late years, indeed, the circumstances of the India company have been greatly altered for the better. The legislature has now taken under their protection a corporation from which the nation in general, and the revenue in particular, receives infinite benefits. In consequence of this protection, the company has been gaining ground on the Dutch; at least in those countries where an equal freedom of trade is permitted, and where the success depends on the choice and good opinion of the natives.

The desire we had of continuing the chain of domestic transactions prevented us from taking notice of accidents that gave a disagreeable check to the rapid progress the company was making in this commerce.

Destruction of the factory at Pulo Condore.

The company had a settlement in the island of Pulo Condore, subject to the monarch of Chochin-china, and inhabited by Cochin-chinese and Cambogians. The English had resided here since the year 1702, when they built a slight fort with earth and palisadoes, mounting on it a few pieces of cannon. It was garrisoned with about forty-five Europeans, including the agents and servants, with eight Topazes and sixteen Bugasses. Not well fixed in their habitation, and unacquainted with the manners, disposition, and inclination of the inhabitants towards them, the English prohibited the natives from keeping arms in their custody on any pretence whatever. The misfortune of the English factory is attributed to the disgust of the Bugas or Macassar soldiers, who were threatened with corporal punishment for letting two of the slaves belonging to the factory escape. The revenge they meditated was cruel; and strongly marks the vindictive nature of those wretches. At night, on the 3d of March, 1705, while the garrison was asleep, they set fire to the houses within the fort, and murdered the English as they ran out to extinguish it. Above thirty of the English were massacred amidst the confusion the fire had occasioned, twelve only

out

out of forty-five having escaped the resentment of the Macassars, by means of a sloop that lay in the harbour.

The Cochin-chinese took possession of the fort, promising to protect the surviving English, and take vengeance on the Macassar assassins who had fled. They even apprehended one of those traitors and put him to death; nevertheless, in a few days, without the least provocation, they fell upon the English that remained, put most of them to the sword, and took possession of their effects, upon the most frivolous pretences.

The company removes their settlement from Bencoolen to Fort Marlborough.

In the year 1719, the governor and council at Bencoolen had resolved, on account of the unwholsomeness of the situation, to remove the factory to some distance from its present site. For this purpose the ground was traced out for Marlborough fort, and the work carried on with great vigour and spirit; but the council had not sufficiently consulted the temper and inclinations of the natives, who were greatly displeased with this design. Some little jealousies and heart-burnings had appeared among them before; but as they did not break out into an open rupture, the factory disregarded them. The natives observing that this new fortification advanced every day, mistook the intention of it, interpreting it into a design upon their liberties, or, at least, into a suspicion in the English of their affection. This notion taking root, diffused such a spirit of rebellion among them, that nothing less than a general revolt, and an absolute destruction of the power they began to dread, was meditated. They concealed, however, their sentiments so artfully, and shewed so little sign of uneasiness or resentment, that the English proceeded in their work without any apprehension of what was contriving against them, till it was on the point of breaking out[1]. At length there was a general insurrection of the natives; and when the English assembled their adherents, they were abandoned by their Pangarans and Bugasses, Blacks, and Chinese, who had enlisted as soldiers in their service.

Discontent of the natives, their revolt, and the massacre of the settlement.

In this dilemma, a general council was called of all the company's servants, and inhabitants of the place, to consult about saving the company's effects; and it was the unanimous opinion, to put on board the ship Metchlapatane, the company's treasure and books, with what stores and provisions the time would permit, with all the expe-

[1] Hamilton, vol. ii. chap. 4.

dition

dition and ſecrecy poſſible; that in caſe of neceſſity, the company's ſervants might eſcape by ſea. The treaſure was embarked accordingly. Meanwhile, ſultan Catcheel undertook to accommodate matters with the country people; but, before any ſteps could be taken for this purpoſe, intelligence was brought that the Bugaſſes and Malayes were riſen at Bencoolen, and had cut off the Padre, and moſt of the Portugueſe, without diſtinction of ſex or ages. A great fire broke out at Bencoolen, another near the fort, behind Canbury Paggar, another towards Sillebar, and ſoon after at the Hermitage-houſe. Till this time no enemy appeared, but ſtill freſh fires were ſeen in different places. As no enemy as yet appeared, the Engliſh diſcharged all the great guns they had mounted, at the thickeſt of theſe fires. One of the wads unfortunately fell upon the top of the fort buildings, which took fire, and burnt ſo fierce, that it could not be extinguiſhed: they therefore marched out of the fort in one body to meet the enemy. Having advanced by the Chineſe town, which was on fire, they proceeded to the ſea-ſide, where they perceived ſome thouſands of Malayes, headed by the ſultan and Bugaſſes. Moſt of the Chineſe had ſecured themſelves in boats, and on board their own prows. Under theſe diſadvantages, the Engliſh thought it in vain longer to hazard their lives againſt ſo numerous an enemy. The fort and buildings being deſtroyed by fire, every man endeavoured to ſave his life by ſwimming, or getting on board the boats in the beſt manner he could; in which attempt near half the people were drowned, or killed by the enemy. Three hundred and fifty black and white men, women, and children, were ſaved on board the ſhip Metchlapatane, Mr. Newcombe's barge, and three country boats called tombongons. In theſe they ſailed for Batavia, from whence they were tranſported to Nagapatâm [k].

Notwithſtanding the Engliſh were thus driven from Bencoolen, their beſt ſettlement on the iſland of Sumatra, they were permitted by the natives to return the year following, and proceed without interruption in the building Marlborough Fort. Thus what the council affirm in their letter, of the fort's being the chief bone of contention, ſeems groundleſs; it plainly appearing that the natives thought themſelves injured and oppreſſed by the Engliſh. The chiefs of the factory did not always abound

The Engliſh permitted to re-eſtabliſh the ſettlement.

[k] Lockyer's Account of the Trade in India.

in

in discretion; and their assuming an imperious behaviour had greatly disgusted the natives; but as this was very tolerable in comparison of the brutal tyranny the Dutch exerted wherever they were settled, the Malayes, upon the expulsion of the English, began to apprehend a visit from those cruel and unwelcome neighbours. From this dread, they soon dropt their resentments against the English, and burying in oblivion their indiscretions, welcomed them back with as much zeal as they had shewn in their expulsion [k] (U).

The great profits of the company.

These successes, joined to the caution of the company, in sending none but persons of prudence and abilities in quality of chiefs to India, soon gave their affairs a prosperous turn. It has been said, that had it not been for the losses sustained by the establishment of new companies abroad, they would have been in a condition to have doubled their dividends; the benefit of which was laid open by the exhibition of the company's books, and the amount of their sales; a step occasioned by the clamour then raised about the decay of trade [l]. The conduct of the ministry it was that gave birth to many new attempts of foreigners to obtain a share in a traffick they saw attended with such immense returns. While these designs were vigorously pursued by foreigners, there were not wanting men of eminence and weight at home, who declared for laying the India trade open. A variety of plausible arguments, which greatly alarmed the company, were urged upon this head. The whole nation was filled with complaints of the injustice of a monopoly, by which a body of private merchants satiated their avarice, at the expence of all his majesty's other subjects.

New attempts to lay the trade open.

The company, to obviate the consequences of arguments become so general, made proposals to the ministry highly beneficial to the government. No other conditions did they require, than a perfect security to an exclusive right of trading to the East Indies. A law was soon passed, by which all their powers, privileges, and immunities were confirmed in the manner they required. By

[k] Hamilton, vol. ii. chap. 41. vol. ii. book i. chap. 2.

[l] Dodsley, vol. ii. Harris,

(U) The year succeeding this, a kind of war broke out in the kingdom of Visiasum, on the Malabar coast, between the English factory and the Sandah Rajah, but it was soon appeased.

this

this it was enacted, that the company do, on, or before a fixed day, pay into the Exchequer two hundred thousand pounds, to be applied to the supplies granted to his majesty. For this no interest shall be paid, nor any addition be made to the capital of the company by the public, on account of this grant; nor the same, nor any part of it to be paid to the company; that after the 29th day of September, 1730, the annuity, or yearly fund, of one hundred and sixty thousand pounds be reduced to one hundred and twenty-eight thousand pounds, in respect of the capital stock of three millions two hundred thousand pounds; that the annuity so reduced shall be charged on the same duties and revenues by the like weekly or quarterly payments, and with the same provisions for making good deficiencies in the said reduced funds, as their present fund or annuity is now charged on, till other provision is made by parliament with consent of the company; that upon one year's notice by parliament, after the 25th of March, 1736, after the expiration of that year, and on repayment of the said debt of three millions two hundred thousand pounds to the company, and all arrears of their reduced annuity of one hundred and twenty-eight thousand pounds, which shall be due at the end of the said year; then, and thenceforwards, the said annuity or yearly fund shall cease, and be no longer payable. At any time after the said 25th of March, after a year's notice by parliament, and after the expiration of that year, upon repayment made to the company of any sum not less than five hundred thousand pounds, part of the capital stock, and on payment of all arrears then due on their reduced annuity, that after such payments made, such part of the said annuity as shall bear a certain proportion to the capital so paid in part, shall cease and be abated. Thus from time to time, upon such yearly notices, and payment of such other sums in part of the said capital stock, till the whole of their annuity be entirely sunk and determined. *The contents of their proposals.*

Notwithstanding any such redemption, all persons intitled to any interest in the stock, &c. of the said company, shall be, and continue a body politic and corporate with perpetual succession, with power to purchase lands, &c. in Great Britain, not exceeding ten thousand pounds in value at any one purchase, with full enjoyment of all powers, privileges, and immunities, as by former charters have been granted, with power to declare what share in their remaining capital shall qualify members to be directors

rectors, or to vote in general courts. The company, notwithſtanding ſuch redemption, ſhall continue to enjoy the whole and ſole trade to the Eaſt Indies, &c. but with the proviſo of determination herein mentioned.

All perſons (factors, &c. excepted) failing or trading to the Eaſt Indies, ſhall forfeit the goods, ſhip, and double the value to be ſued for, recovered and diſtributed as in the ſtatute of 7 Geo. I. cap. 21. is directed. The company ſhall enjoy all the powers granted them by former charters, and not charged by this act, freed and diſcharged from all proviſos of redemption, as fully as if the ſame were here repeated; but ſubject to the reſtrictions as are contained in acts and letters patent now in force; as alſo to all proviſions following.

Provided, that upon three years notice by parliament, after the 25th of March, 1736, and repayment made to the company of the capital ſtock, with all arrears due with regard to it; then, and from thenceforth, the right, title, and intereſt of the ſaid company to the ſole, entire, and excluſive trade to the Eaſt Indies, ſhall ceaſe and determine. But after the ſaid determination of the company's right, the corporation may, with all or part of their joint ſtock, trade to thoſe parts in common with other ſubjects of his majeſty. Any notice in writing from the ſpeaker of the Houſe of Commons, to be deemed a due and proper notice by parliament. Nothing in this act to extend to ſubject the Levant company to any penalties and forfeitures on account of their traffic in the Levant ſeas; nor reſtrain any trade within the limits of the Eaſt India company, that the South Sea company are any way intitled to[m].

In this condition did the Eaſt India company continue till the year 1743, when ſubſequent wars with France produced a variety of important events relating to the Engliſh company's affairs in the Eaſt Indies, a detail of which does not at preſent properly fall within the execution of our plan.

[m] Harris, vol. ii. book i. chap. 2.

SECT.

SECT. VI.

Containing a Description of all the Company's Settlements; the Nature of the Trade of each; the Goods exported and imported; the Salaries of the Governors and other Servants; the Manners, Laws, and Religion of the Natives; the Coins, Measures, Duties, and Customs used or paid by the Company; with several other Particulars.

Description of the city of Mocha.

TO begin with the settlements of the East India company: the first in order is Mocha, a city seated at the entrance of the Red Sea, latitude 13 deg. 11 min. north. This place, from an inconsiderable fishing-town, hardly known, is become, in less than two centuries, a flourishing city, and the emporium for the trade of all India to the Red Sea. The trade was removed hither from Adan, in consequence of the prophecy of a sheyk, much revered by the people. This man, it is said, foretold that it would soon become a place of extensive commerce, notwithstanding some disadvantages in point of situation. Be this as it will, certain it is, that trade flourishes. Mocha stands close to the sea, in a large, dry, and sandy plain, that affords no good water within twenty miles of the city. What they drink comes from Mosa, and costs as dear as small beer in England. The water nearer the town, it is imagined, produces a worm which naturalists call the dracunculus. It generally breeds in the fleshy and muscular parts of the body, appearing commonly in the thighs and legs, accompanied with an extreme inflammation and acute pain.

Mocha is large, but meanly fortified. The buildings are lofty, and tolerably regular, having a pleasant aspect from Mecca. The minarets of several mosques raise their heads into the clouds, and present themselves to view at a great distance. Their markets are well stored with beef, mutton, lamb, kid, camel, and antelope's flesh, common fowls, Guinea hens, partridge, and pigeon. The sea affords plenty of fish, but not savoury. Fruit, such as grapes, peaches, apricots, quinces, and nectarines, the markets are stocked with; although near the town not a shrub is to be seen, nor a tree, except a few date trees. Two or three years sometimes elapse without rain, and

ſeldom more than a ſhower or two fall in a year. In the mountains, indeed, at the diſtance of twenty miles from Mocha, the earth is watered by a gentle ſhower every morning, which refreſhes and fertilizes the ground.

The religion of the country and city is Mohammediſm, in which they are rigidly ſuperſtitious; but hypocriſy ſeems the moſt diſtinguiſhing part of the character of an Arabian at Mocha. Their promiſes, which they ſeldom keep, are made with the moſt ſolemn invocations on God; and the judge pronounces a grave, devout lecture againſt corruption, at the very time when his arm is extended to receive a bribe. Robbing, thieving, and piracy, are vices no leſs faſhionable here, than are fornication, adultery, and drinking, in ſome cities in Europe; and yet, from the gravity of the people, you would imagine the integrity of a Cato lodged in every breaſt.

The Engliſh and Dutch companies have handſome houſes, but without the grandeur and ſtate they maintain in ſome others of their ſettlements. The Engliſh are much careſſed, and carry on a conſiderable trade for coffee, olibanum, myrrh, aloes, liquid ſtorax, white and yellow arſenic, gum arabic, mummy, balm of Gilead, and other drugs. One inconvenience, however, they ſuſtain from the violence and exaction of the Arabian princes; for the king's cuſtoms are eaſy, being fixed at three per cent. to Europeans.

As to the coins at Mocha, the moſt current is the camaſſie, which riſes or falls in value at the banker's diſcretion: they are from fifty to eighty for a current dollar, which is but an imaginary ſpecies, being always reckoned twenty-one and a half per cent. lower than Spaniſh dollars. As to their weights, they are almoſt infinite, according to the nature of the thing to be weighed. They have the Banian weight, the Magiet, the Ambergriſe, the agala, the gold and ſilver weights, &c. &c [n].

Deſcription of Gombroon.

Gombroon, or, as the natives call it, Bander Abaſſi, or the ſea-port of Abaſſi, is the next ſettlement. This city, lying in the latitude of 27 deg. 40 min. north, owes its wealth and grandeur to the demolition of Ormuz, and the downfall of the Portugueſe empire in the Eaſt Indies. It is now juſtly accounted one of the greateſt marts in the Eaſt, was built by the great Shah Abbas, and from him, as ſome think, obtained the name Bander Abaſſi, which ſignifies the *Court of Abbas*. We ſhall leave the reader to

[n] Hamilton, p. 143.

determine

determine which of these etymons is the most natural. It stands on a bay, about four leagues to the northward of the east end of the island of Kishmish, and three leagues from the famous Ormuz. The English began to settle here about the year 1613, when, in consideration of their services against the Portuguese, Shah Abbas granted them half the customs of that port. This was confirmed by a phirmaund, and duly regarded till the English began to neglect the services they had stipulated, upon which it dwindled to a thousand tomans a year, three thousand three hundred and thirty-three pounds six shillings and eight pence, which were likewise ill paid, if it be true that the company has any emolument at all from the customs. The situation is bad, wanting almost every thing that contributes to the happiness, and even the support of life. The city is large, and encompassed by a wall towards the land, which is ruined in several places through neglect. On the side of the sea are three small forts, of five guns each; a platform of eight, and a castle, or citadel, mounting thirty-five heavy cannon, to secure it and the road from the attempts of an enemy. The houses in most of the streets are so out of repair, that a stranger would imagine the town had been sacked and ravaged by a barbarous people, not a vestige of the wealth really contained in the place appearing in view. The bazars and shops round are for the most part kept by Banians, whose houses are generally in good order. When the Banians are asked why the Persians are so negligent in repairing the buildings erected at a great expence by their ancestors, their common answer is, "For the vanity of building new ones themselves." In the walls of the best houses stone is used, but the common method of building is with earth and lime. Many of them have a contrivance at the top for making a draught of air through the whole house, which, in effect, resembles a ventilator, but is itself a wooden machine of a conical form: these they call wind-chimnies, which add not only to the elegance of the houses, but to the conveniency of living as well as to health, in the intensely hot seasons of the year.

The most sickly months of this unhealthy situation are April and May, towards the close of the vernal equinox; September and October, in the autumnal. With fish and mutton the inhabitants are well supplied. Rice is imported from India, and wheat so plenty, that the poor chiefly subsist on bread and dates: as for pilloe it is a dish fashionable only among the better sort. This part of Per-

sia abounds in the most delicious fruits: apricots, peaches, pomegranates, pears, mangoes, grapes, guavas, plums, sweet quinces, water-melons, are here in the utmost profusion and perfection. The apricots, however, are small, and extremely dangerous if eaten to excess, for which reason the Persians call them kill-franks, because Europeans, not knowing the danger, are often destroyed by them.

But the fruit most peculiar to this country and to Arabia is the date. This tree grows much in the manner of the cocoa-nut tree, only the branches are shorter. The fruit hangs on small twigs, thick about the top of the tree under the boughs; and when ripe, is esteemed there a delicious and wholsome diet. It is deemed fit for use when it begins to melt on the tree; but the dates intended for sale are plucked sooner, and laid wet in a heap, afterwards packed in bales of one hundred pounds weight, their own juice candying and preserving them.

These conveniences are more than over-balanced by the scarcity of fresh water, with which the inhabitants are supplied from Asseen [o], a place seven miles distance, there not being one spring or well in the town. Persons of distinction keep camels in constant employment in bringing fresh and wholesome water. People of condition retire into the country, to pass the heats of June, July, and August. The very sea, during this season, is affected; insomuch, that the stench is no less disagreeable than that of putrid carcases; and this is increased by the quantities of shell-fish left by the surges on the shore, from which an exhalation arises that tarnishes gold and silver, and is more intolerable than the bilge-water of a tight ship.

About ten miles from Asseen, is a place called Minoa, where are cold and hot natural baths, reckoned infallible in the cure of scrophulous disorders, rheumatisms, and other diseases. As they are rough and powerful emeticks if drank in the smallest quantity, their use in this respect is neglected. At Asseen the English factory have a country-house and gardens, to which they retire occasionally. They have tanks and ponds of fresh water, with every thing else that can moderate the heat of the climate, and render life agreeable and elegant.

The city of Gombroon is extremely populous, on account of the prodigious commerce carried on by the Dutch and English factories, as well as the natives. The French formerly had a trade here; but they were forced

[o] Lockyer, chap. 8. Hamilton, vol. i. chap. 9.

to

to withdraw their ſervants upon a revolution that happened in the company's affairs. The Engliſh factory is ſituated cloſe upon the ſea, at ſome diſtance from the Dutch, which is a commodious and fine new building. A great part of the company's profits ariſes from freights. As the natives have not one good ſhip of their own, and are extremely ignorant of navigation, they freight their goods for Surat, and other Indian marts, in Engliſh and Dutch bottoms, at an exorbitant rate. The commodities of the Gombroon market are fine wines of different kinds, raiſins, almonds, kiſmiſhes, prunellas, dates, piſtachio nuts, ginger, ſilks, carpets, leather, tutty, galbanum, ammoniac, aſa fœtida, tragacanth, with other gums, and a variety of ſhop medicines. Theſe are in a great meaſure the produce of Carmania, which they bring to Gombroon in caravans. The Engliſh company had a ſmall factory in the province of Carmania, chiefly for the ſake of a fine wool uſed by the hatters.

Although the Engliſh pay no cuſtoms, yet the ſhabander keeps an officer at the factory, who examines every thing brought on ſhore, and delivered to the merchants, who uſually make him a preſent, to avoid the trouble he has it in his power to give them. All private traders with the company's paſſes enjoy the ſame privileges, on paying two per cent. to the company; one to the agent and one to the broker.

When a ſhip arrives, the ſhabander ſends his boat on board to know whence ſhe came, what her cargo conſiſts of, and to whom ſhe belongs. Were the ſhabander applied to, in order to wave the company's privileges, he would hardly fail to extort eight per cent. on the whole cargo, as is evident from his conduct to the interlopers, during the quarrels between the two companies. Hence it is, that moſt people would chuſe to trade under the company's protection, notwithſtanding the inconveniences that attend it. All private trade, either by European or country ſhips, has ſo long been engroſſed by the company's ſervants, that they now look upon it as their right, and to be enjoyed upon their own terms. The agent at Iſpahan is one third concerned, the chief of Gombroon one third, and the reſt of the factors in Perſia the remaining third, in all inveſtments. Hence it is, that ſcarcely an Engliſhman in the place will give a true account of the value of goods againſt his own intereſt; yet that every thing may ſeem to be done for the benefit of the ſtranger, the chittera, or broker, acquaints the Armenian and Banian mer-

chants of what is to be disposed of, and fixes a time for a number of them to meet at the factory. The chief presides as director of the sale; they beat down the price, or let the goods remain, although they can, and do, often sell them the next day at thirty per cent. profit. By this collusion, the poor trader is bubbled, and the whole profits flow into the pockets of English presidents, agents, brokers, and Banian or Armenian merchants. Another sensible disadvantage to the private trader is in the advance the broker usually puts on the money he pays. If payment is made in abassees, he will sometimes charge ten per cent. for the difference in exchange. There is always some allowance, but the honest broker seldom fails of having two per cent. more than the current price. It is true this is never done by the authority of the company, nor is it countenanced by them; it is only a tax which the avarice, the poverty, and insolence of some chiefs impose on the industrious and fair trader.

Till of late years the northern provinces of Persia, and most of the grand signor's dominions, were supplied with English cloths by the Turkey company. But the East India company, having taken this branch of trade into consideration, sent large quantities of woollen manufactures round the Cape of Good Hope to Gombroon, and so by caravans to the respective marts. Some years ago they were very earnest and intent on the exportation of this article; if they continue it, the advantage will be general, and obviate, in a great measure, the clamours we every day hear against this monopoly.

At Gombroon all bargains are driven for shahees, and the company keep their accounts in this imaginary coin (for hardly such a piece of money is to be met with), which is valued at four pence. Payments are made in coz, mamodas, &c. which are the current coin of the country; but horses, camels, houses, &c. are commonly sold or bought by the toman, which is two hundred shahees, or fifty abassees. This is the usual way of rating estates, effects, and a man's wealth; such a man is worth so many tomans, as in England we say he is worth so many pounds. Their great weights are maunds, which differ according to the nature of the commodity to be weighed. Sugar, copper, and all sorts of drugs are sold by the maund tabrees, which, in the custom-house and factory, is esteemed at six pounds and three quarters averdupois; but in the bazar, reckoned at no more than six pounds and a quarter. Eatables, and all sorts of fruits and vegetables, are sold by the

the maund copara, of seven pounds and three quarters in the factory, and from seven and a quarter to seven and a half in the bazar. Fine goods, as gold, silver, musk, Achen camphor, bezoar, coral, amber, cloves, and cinnamon oil, with dyed China silks, or painted sattins, are sold by the miscal, six of which are estimated at one ounce averdupois. Its just weight is two pennyweights twenty-three grains. The maund shaw is two maund tabrees, used in Ispahan. To conclude our account of this city, one great part of the company's profit here arises from passengers with the freight of their effects. They rarely dispatch a ship from Gombroon but she is filled with passengers, deep laden with goods, with immense quantities of pearls and treasure on board, sometimes to the value of three hundred thousand pounds. Upon all these the freight is prodigious, and often rated by the value of the cargo. Although the company has regulated the price of a passage from Gombroon to Surat; yet the captain of the ship makes a valuable perquisite of it, raising his price according to the wealth and disposition of the passenger. Some gross enormities, and grievous extortions, have been committed in this manner.

Description of the town and English settlement of Surat.

The next sea-port where the company have a factory, is Surat. It is situate in 21½ deg. north latitude, on the banks of the river Tapee, and was built in the year 1660. It is the chief trading town in the Mogul's dominions, people of all nations generally residing under the protection of the government. Soon after the English settled there they removed about two miles farther down the river, on account of some inconveniences in the former situation. Others followed their example; so that in a short space, the spot they had chosen for their residence became a large town. After Rajah Savajee, who never submitted to the Mogul's authority, had taken and ravaged it, the European factories excepted, the inhabitants petitioned Aureng Zîb to be secured by a wall round their town. Their request was granted, and the city was inclosed with a wall four miles in compass. As trade increased, the people became too numerous for so small a space; to remedy which inconvenience, several large suburbs were added, for the habitation of mechanics. The wall was built of brick, about eight yards in height, with round bastions two hundred paces distant from each other, with five or six cannon mounted on each.

Its flourishing trade was first disturbed by the governor of Bombay, A. D. 1686. In the year 1695, its trade and

tranquility were a second time invaded by captain Avery, a pirate. In 1705, when Aureng Zîb was in his dotage, the neighbouring rajahs, with united forces, besieged Surat with eighty thousand horse, plundering all the villages in its vicinity. This army being unprovided with artillery, could make no impression on the city, though it extremely straitened it, till this inconvenience was removed by getting provisions by sea from Guzarat. While this rabble lay before it, the citizens, under the direction of the Europeans, built sconces in convenient places, about half a mile from the walls, to protect the suburbs. In process of time, a high wall between each sconce was drawn, by which means the whole suburbs are encompassed. All this inclosure is extremely populous, the inhabitants being computed at two hundred thousand souls, among which are several merchants of prodigious wealth (U).

The trade of Surat is still very considerable, as appears from the customs and land-rents, amounting to one million three hundred thousand rupees, or one hundred sixty-two thousand five hundred pounds. In Surat are a variety of different religions. That by law established is the Mohammedan, of Hali's sect, the professors of which are called Moors. There is one particular sect called Musey, who believe both in the Old Testament and Koran, who pay an equal regard to the law of Moses and of Mohammed. Another sect, whom they call Molacks, is pretty numerous, and stigmatized with the name of heretic by all the other religions, on account of some detestable rites among them. On an annual festival, the time of celebration only known to themselves, after a great deal of mirth,

(U) Of this captain Hamilton relates a very striking instance, of a Mohammedan merchant he was acquainted with. This man, called Abd'al Gafur, drove a trade equal to that of the whole English East India company. Captain Hamilton has known him fit out in one year a fleet of twenty sail from three hundred to eight hundred tons burthen. None of those had a cargo worth less than ten thousand pounds, and the greater number were valued at twenty-five thousand pounds sterling. This was the stock he exported; what then must his returns have been? His wealth may be judged by this, that, at his death, his estate was divided among four grandsons. Each was wealthy to an extreme; and yet the Mogul's court had seized above a million sterling of his effects (1).

(1) Hamilton's History of the East Indies, vol. i. p. 149.

men

men and women retire promiſcuouſly into a dark apartment. The women take each a handkerchief, or ſome token by which they may again be known, before they adjourn to ſolemnize this rite. Here fathers, daughters, mothers, ſons, brothers and ſiſters, and all without diſtinction, converſe on mats and carpets ſpread for the purpoſe; the women leave their handkerchiefs with perſons whom accident has joined to them, and retire from the inceſtuous embrace. Aureng Zîb made the ſolemnization of this feſtival a capital-crime, yet was it never diſcontinued; and to this day is it practiſed among the Molacks.

Of all the religions in Surat, that of the Banians is the moſt numerous: they are almoſt all merchants, bankers, brokers, accomptants, collectors, or ſurveyors; few or none are bred to mechanical or mean employments, unleſs we except taylors and barbers.

The Perſees are numerous in Surat, and the adjacent country. They are a remnant of the ancient Perſians, who preferred baniſhment to changing their religion. About the ſeventh century, when the Mohammedan religion overran Perſia, perſecution prevailed, and five hundred families were ſent to ſea in ſhips and boats, without compaſs or pilot. This miſerable exiled crew, ſteering eaſtward, in the ſouth-weſt monſoons, from Jaſques, in twenty days fell in with the coaſt of India. As it was night, they were directed to the ſhore by a fire near the ſea-ſide, by which the fleet ſteering accidentally put into the river of Nunſaree, ſeven leagues ſouth of Surat. When they came on ſhore the charitable Indians flocked round them. Among the Perſians there were ſome who ſpoke the Indian language; theſe related the melancholy tale, and the circumſtances which had drove them in neceſſity upon the Indian coaſts. Their ſtory was heard with humanity, and they were generouſly invited to ſettle about Surat, at leaſt the place where this city was afterwards founded. The hoſpitable Indians gave them lands to cultivate, and ſeed to ſow their grounds, upon the ſame conditions and tenure on which they enjoyed their own farms. They ſoon multiplied, and have ſince greatly increaſed, but without the ſmalleſt alteration in their religion. As a particular account of this ſect will be found in its proper place in this hiſtory, it will be unneceſſary to dwell upon it here.

About Surat the fields are all plain, the ground extremely fertile towards the country, but ſandy and barren along the coaſt. Here they have good beef, mutton, and fowls daily expoſed in their markets, reaſonably cheap. Beef with

with the bones is sold at three farthings a pound; without them at a penny. Mutton is dearer, but still cheap in comparison of what this country affords; and their best fowls are sold at six pence and seven pence. Fish, wild-fowl, and hare, are more than proportionably cheaper. The country affords abundance of wheat, peas, and beans, but no oats or barley. Here is a species of legumen called dole, which the natives mix with rice. These they boil together, and form a dish to which they give the name of kitcheree, the common food of the country. They eat it with butter and salt-fish, and it is a pleasant nourishing diet, of which the great Aureng Zîb was particularly fond. In short, no conveniency in life is wanting in this pleasant country and city.

The Mogul has always a governor and garrison in a large fort adjoining to the town, and that commands the river. The English, Dutch, and French have their factories here; but the Moors, Banians, Armenians, Arabs, and Jews, drive a much greater trade than the Europeans, although they chiefly use the shipping of the latter in long voyages. Both the English companies, before they were united, had houses in Surat, of which they are still in possession. The lower servants live in the old house, and the president and council in the new. Both the English and Dutch directors or agents make a good figure at Surat; this appearance of consequence and splendor being unavoidable in the eastern countries, where any degree of reputation must be kept up.

All the English pay three and a half per cent. on merchandize, jewels, gold, and silver, they import or send abroad; whereas the Dutch pay but two and a half per cent. Here is no book of rates, as in China, every thing without distinction being charged ad valorem. The custom-house is the most scrupulous and strict in their searches and examinations of any in India. Surat may be looked upon as the repository of all the valuable rarities, and jewels and precious stones, of the coasts of Africa, Malabar, Arabia, Persia, and Indostan. The bazar is continually replete with Cambay stones, as agates and cornelians, from a pice or corge, to a rupee each. The streets on both sides are crowded with rich shops, resembling one of our richest towns. Their artists shew great genius in many branches, particularly in turning and working in ivory, a staple commodity among them, which they polish with infinite beauty and dexterity. Vast quantities of elephants teeth are yearly imported from the coasts of Africa and other parts; they are manufactured

chiefly

chiefly at Surat; and one would be amazed to think what a consumption of this elegant production there is within the Mogul's dominions.

The current coins of Surat are rupees and pice; yet in accounts they reckon by rupees, anas, and pice: thus sixteen pice make an ana, four anas one rupee. Venetians and Gubbers have no fixed standard of value. As to the weights used at Surat, they are different in buying and selling, and adapted to different sorts of goods. Bezoar is sold by the tola, almost eight penny-weights troy, which is divided into thirty-two vols; diamond bolt they sell by the ruttee, of seventeen grains and a half; musk by the seer; and bulky commodities by the maund, and candy boroch. They commonly reckon forty seer to a maund, and twenty maund to a candy boroch. Pepper, asa fœtida, dry ginger, benjamin, tyncal, and saltpetre, have forty-two seer to the maund; some goods rise higher, having forty-four seer to the maund; so that the criterion of weight is uncertain. On this account it is common in all bargains to specify the number of seers to be allowed in a maund; and strangers are often imposed on, from their ignorance of this circumstance. We shall dismiss this account, with observing, that Surat is still a flourishing, populous, industrious, and rich town, although the English trade thither has greatly fallen off of late years, and since the presidency has been removed to Fort St. George [p].

We next come to the island of Bombay, the property of the East India company, in the latitude of 19 deg. north, about forty miles north of Dunda Dejapore. The Portuguese, who possessed themselves of it soon after their arrival in India, gave it the name of Boon Bay, from the excellency of its harbour, which, it is affirmed, will conveniently hold a thousand ships at anchor. We have already related many particulars of this famous island. To these we shall only add, that it is about seven miles in length, and twenty in circumference. The principal town is near a mile long, but the houses are mean, low, and paltry, a few only excepted, belonging to the Portuguese. The fort, which stands at a little distance from the town, we have already described. The soil is sterile and not capable of improvement; nor has the island any good water upon it. The best is what they preserve in cisterns

[p] Lockyer, chap. 2. Hamilton, in the table of coins at the end of vol. ii.

after

after rain, that which their wells furnish having a brackish disagreeable taste. Those who can afford to keep servants may be tolerably supplied from a spring, some miles distant from the town. What the estates on the island chiefly consist in, are fine groves of cocoa-nut trees. Their gardens also produce mangoes, jacks, and other Indian fruits. They make salt in large quantities, by letting the sea into the pits, where the sun evaporates the watry part, while the saline is left behind.

As to the air and climate they are rather unhealthy, although the natives, and persons seasoned to the country, live easily to a good old age. Most persons on their arrival are seized with fevers, fluxes, scrophulous disorders, or a disease they call the barbiers, which wholly enervates the body, and reduces it to a total state of inactivity, and a deprivation of all the loco-motive faculties. After rains a multitude of venomous creatures appear, which grow to an extraordinary size. Their spiders are as large as walnuts, and their toads almost equal ducks in magnitude.

The inhabitants are a mixture of several nations, English, Portuguese, and Indians, amounting in all to near sixty thousand. Formerly the president of Bombay appeared with the state, magnificence, and pomp of a crowned head. He was attended when he went abroad, with troops of Moors and Bandarins, colours flying, drums beating, and music playing. After the presidency was removed, the governor's splendor diminished: and, indeed, this vanity is kept up among no European nations to its former height, unless we except the Dutch government of Batavia. About two leagues from the fort is a small island belonging to the company, called Butchers Island, of no other use besides grazing a few cattle, and careening ships. At a league's distance from hence is another larger island, called Elephants Island, from the image of that animal carved out in a large black stone, seven foot high. As this little island is still the property of the Portuguese, we shall defer an account of it to its proper place.

Carwar. The next English settlement we meet with is Corwar, a small fort that stands in the latitude of 15 deg. north, seven leagues to the south of Cabo de Rama, or, as the English call it, *Cape Ramus*. It has the advantage of a good harbour on the south side of a bay, and a river capable of receiving ships of three hundred tons burthen. It is one of the pleasantest and most healthful settlements

the

the company hath on the Malabar coaſt. The country round is fertile and beautiful; in general, indeed, it is mountainous and woody; but the vallies abound with corn and pepper, and the woods with game of various kinds. Here are tigers, wolves, wild hogs, monkies, deer, elks, and wild cattle of a prodigious ſize. A great variety of beautiful birds, as wild peacocks, pheaſants, &c. are found in the woods: nor is the ſea leſs bountiful in ſupplying all manner of fiſh.

The company has here a chief and council to manage the trade, principally valuable on account of the fine pepper, which is the natural product of the country. The factory is fortified with two baſtions, each mounting nine or ten cannon, and the garriſon conſiſts of thirty Topaſſes, beſides Engliſh. The preſident is held in great eſteem by the natives. When he hunts, all the people of condition in the neighbourhood, attend him. They bring their vaſſals and ſervants with them, armed with fire arms, lances, and other weapons, and preceded by a number of warlike inſtruments, as drums, hautboys, and trumpets. When the Mogul's general had conquered this province, and taken poſſeſſion of it for Aureng Zîb, he burnt the Engliſh houſe, at the time the factory were at dinner with him. This misfortune obliged the company to build the fort they now poſſeſs. The architect or engineer has ſhewn no great judgment in the choice of the ſituation, which is at leaſt a league from the ſea.

Before Aureng Zîb conquered Viſapore, the country produced the fineſt betteelas, or muſlins, in India. At Corwar the company had a great trade, employing fifty thouſand people in that branch of manufacture. When the Mogul's licentious army entered the province, all manner of induſtry was ruined. They plundered the inhabitants, cut the company's cloth from the looms, and uſed the weavers ſo rudely, that they forſook the country. Since that time trade has never recovered itſelf, nor riſen to that flouriſhing height at which it then was. Their coins and weights differ in nothing from thoſe in uſe at Surat [q].

We proceed to Tellicherry, a ſmall ſettlement belonging to the India company on the Malabar coaſt. It ſtands on the frontiers of Adda Rajah's dominions, and is fortified with ſtone walls and cannon, the company keeping *Tellicherry.*

[q] Hamilton, vol. i. chap. 23, and the table above. Lockyer, chap. 9.

in

in it, a constant garrison of thirty or forty soldiers. The place where the factory is situated was formerly possessed by the French. They left the mud walls of a fort they had built, which the factors lived in for some time after; but some years ago the company was at considerable pains and charges in building. We are at a loss to conjecture why they should be at any expence in fortifying a place which affords no protection to the shipping, or even to their warehouse. Behind the fort is the town, surrounded by a stone wall, which is indeed necessary, as the company were for a while at a kind of perpetual war with the Nayer. Their quarrel had its rise in the year 1703; but if it ever came to blows, the bloodshed was so little, as to deserve no notice here. The Nayer demands a kind of duty from every ship that unloads in his ports; but this is often paid to the English chief, a circumstance which renews the dispute between him and the Nayers. The established religion of the town and country round is Paganism; but there are a few black Christians, that live under the protection of the factory. The coins are five finams and a half to a rupee, three rupees to a chequeen, or maggerbee. Maggerbees, Gubbers, and Venetians, are all of a weight; the former, however, is of a paler, less pure gold, not above three-fourths of the fineness of the others. Their weights are twenty pollams to a maund, and twenty maunds to a candy. The maund is about twenty-eight pounds and a half. Of this, as of the other Malabar settlements, the chief trade consists in pepper and cardamoms [r].

Anjengo. At Anjengo the company have another small fort and settlement, in latitude 8 deg. 30 min. north. It is the most southerly possession they have upon the Malabar coast. The fort is regular, having two bastions, joined by a curtain, all of them mounted with cannon, as is likewise a platform towards the sea. On the land side it is secured by a deep and broad river, that, after winding round the greatest part of the fort, empties itself in the sea, a little to the south. This river would be useful, if the bar was not too shallow for ships of burden. A chief and three counsellors reside here, who, with a surgeon and a few servants, compose the whole factory. The governor's lodgings are within the walls of the fort; they are thatched with palm-leaves and mats; in other respects they are neat, and even elegant. The chief intention of

[r] See the cited authors, as above.

this

this ſettlement is for managing the pepper trade, which is here of a leſs grain, and not ſo good as more to the north towards Corwar. Some attribute the fault to the manner of gathering it, before it is ripe; other blame the ſoil and climate. Here rupees are the current money. They likewiſe have venetians, gubbers, maggerbees, and pagodas. Their weights reſemble thoſe of Tellicherry and Corwar [s].

We come now to ſpeak of Fort St. David, a ſettlement of more conſequence to the company than any we have yet mentioned, Bombay excepted. It ſtands in the latitude of 11 deg. 40 min. north: formerly it had the name of Tegapatân, which it ſtill retains in ſome of the beſt modern maps, particularly in the Atlas univerſelle, par M. Roberts. An. 1686 a Maharatta prince ſold it to Mr. Eliſha Yale, for the uſe and benefit of the Eaſt India company. The price, with its territories, was ninety thouſand pagodas, a ſum which the company has had no reaſon to complain of. Its territory extends about eight miles along the ſea-coaſt, and four miles up the country, which is pleaſant, healthful, and fertile, watered with a variety of rivers, that add to the ſtrength and beauty of the fort, and fertility of the adjacent ſoil. The fort is regular, mounted with cannon, and always well provided and garriſoned, on account of its vicinity to Pondicherry. Beſides, ever ſince Aureng Zîb conquered Viſapore and Golconda, numbers of male-contents have kept poſſeſſion of the mountains, who frequently make dangerous incurſions into the open country. Here they ravage, plunder, and deſtroy every thing in their way; nor can they be repelled, or at leaſt ſuppreſſed, by the Mogul's forces. When the Engliſh purchaſed Fort St. David, the Dutch had a little factory there, which to this day they retain. They find that ſecurity and peace under the Engliſh at Fort St. David and Madraſs, which they denied them at Poleroon and Amboyna. It is true, the Dutch can poſſeſs no open trade here, without paying a certain duty to the Engliſh company. This colony produces good long cloths, in large quantities. They have either brown, white, blue, or other colours; alſo ſallampores, morees, dimities, ginghams, ſuccatoons. In ſhort, this colony is the prop of Fort St. George, ſince without it, the other would make but a poor figure in commerce, notwithſtanding its vicinity to the diamond mines of Golconda. As to the coins,

Fort St. David.

[s] Salmon, vol. i, p. 243.

weights,

weights, manners of the natives, religion, produce, and climate, they differ but little from those we have already described, and more nearly resemble those of Madrafs, upon which we are now going to enter [t].

Madrafs, the head settlement; its description.

Madrafs, or Fort St. George, as it is usually called, from the company's fort there, is situated in 13 deg. 30 min. north latitude. The natives give it the appellation of China Patam. It is distant about three miles to the north of St. Thomas, an ancient place, famous for a number of legends and fabulous tales. As it is a settlement of the utmost consequence to the India company on account of its strength, wealth, and great yearly returns in callicoes and muslins, a minute description of it may be agreeable to the reader. Within these few years Madrafs has received great improvements, equally to the honour and advantage of the company, and satisfaction of the council and governor there.

It is seated in a plain sandy situation, so close to the sea, that its walls have sometimes been endangered by the beating of prodigious surges, for here the ocean rolls higher than on any other part of the Coromandel coast. Behind it is defended by a salt-water river, which adds to its security, but takes away from its conveniency, by obstructing all fresh water springs. This inconvenience obliges the inhabitants to send above a mile for water that is drinkable. In the rainy season the sea threatens destruction on the one side, while the river is no less terrifying on the other, from the apprehension of an inundation. The sun, from April to September, is scorching hot, and without the sea breezes to moisten and cool the air, the place would not be habitable.

The reason for this bad choice of a settlement is variously related. The person entrusted by the company to build a fort on the Coromandel coast, in the reign of Charles II. pitched upon this spot as the most likely to ruin the Portuguese trade at St. Thomas. Others, again, assert, that sir William Langhorne, for he was the founder, had reasons less politic in view, having no other motive than its vicinity to a mistress he had at the Portuguese colony. Be that as it will, certain it is, he could not have chosen a place less commodious for a settlement, and the intentions of his employers. About the city the soil is so poor, dry, and sandy, that it produces not a blade of grass spontaneously, nor corn with culture. The

[t] Hamilton's Hist. of the East Indies, vol. i. chap. 27.

roots,

roots, herbage, and other vegetables consumed in the place, are brought from a considerable distance. In short, nothing can be more unhappy than the aspect, more disagreeable or less commodious than the situation; yet, under all these disadvantages, it is the company's head settlement, and, next to Batavia, the richest European port in India.

The fort lies north-north-east and south-south-west, in the middle of the White, or English Town. It is a regular square, about a hundred yards on each side, built with a stone they call iron-stone, honey-combed externally, and of the colour of iron. It has no moat, and the walls are arched and hollow within, a circumstance which greatly diminishes their strength. It has two gates, looking east and west; the latter, towards the land, is large, and always defended by two files of musqueteers, on the right and left; the former, to the sea, is small, and watched only by one file of soldiers. At night the keys are brought to the governor, or, in his absence, to the next in council. In the center stands the governor's house, in which also are apartments for the company's servants. It is a handsome, lofty, square stone building; the first rooms are ascended by ten or twelve steps, from which another pair of stairs leads to the council-chamber and the governor's lodgings.

The White Town, where the Europeans live, is about a quarter of a mile in length, and near half as much in breadth. Captain Hamilton calls it four hundred paces long, and a hundred and fifty broad. To the northward of the fort are three decent strait streets, and an equal number to the south. The houses are flat-roofed, built with brick, and covered with a plaister made of sea-shells, which no rain can penetrate. The walls are thick, and rooms lofty; but few of them exceed one floor, though some are raised a floor above ground. What seems peculiar to this country is, that the upper floors are paved with brick, instead of being laid with boards. From the dimensions of the town, it may be concluded, that the number of houses is not considerable; and that the gardens and courts are far from being large. Indeed, the former are without the town, and as to the latter they are of little use, the houses, for the most part, standing close to the street. Opposite to the west gate of the fort is a barrack, where the company's soldiers lodge when off guard; and adjoining to it is a very convenient hospital, whither they are conveyed and carefully attended when sick. At the

other end of the barrack is a mint, where the company coin gold and ſilver. North of the fort ſtands the Portugueſe church, and to the ſouth the Engliſh church, a pretty neat building; it has a handſome altar-piece, a gallery of fine carved wood, and an organ. It is paved with white and black marble, the ſeats are regular and convenient, and the whole is light, elegant, and airy. What diminiſhes its beauty, but adds to its conveniency, is that the windows are not glazed; if that were the caſe, it would be inſupportably hot. At preſent, the cooling breezes having a thorough paſſage, make it ſo cool, that perſons may go through their devotions with tolerable eaſe. There is a town-houſe, where the magiſtrates aſſemble, and a court of juſtice is held. The whole is encompaſſed with a ſtrong wall, of the ſame ſtone with which the fort is built. It is defended by batteries, baſtions, half-moons, and flankers; the whole mounted with near two hundred pieces of cannon and three mortars, including the guns on the outworks, beſides field-pieces. Round it, on the weſt ſide, runs the river, by which alone, and a battery, it is defended. South of the White Town is a little ſuburb, the reſidence of the black watermen, by whom it is wholly poſſeſſed. It conſiſts of little low thatched cottages, hardly deſerving the name of buildings. Beyond this is an out-guard of blacks to give notice of any danger. In ſhort, it cannot be well attacked except on the ſouth or north ſides; for, towards the ſea, the ſwell and ſurges of that element are a perfect ſecurity.

As to the Black Town, called Madraſs, and ſometimes Chinapatam, it is inhabited by Gentoos, Mohammedans, and Indian Chriſtians, as Armenians and Portugueſe; nor is it without a number of Jews. It was walled in to the land ſide, under the government of Mr. Pitt. Apprehending that the Mogul's general in Golconda might one day viſit them, he perſuaded the inhabitants to ſecure themſelves and their property by a ſmall contribution towards fortifying the place. The wall is of brick, ſeventeen foot thick, with baſtions at proper diſtances, after the modern rules of fortification. It has alſo a river on the weſt, and the ſea on the eaſt. To the north a canal is cut from the river to the ſea, which ſerves for a moat on that ſide. This town is about a mile and a half in circumference, and might be reckoned a place of ſtrength if the garriſon were always proportioned. Indeed, the accident that befel the company in the laſt French war, has made them more attentive to its ſecurity. The fortifications

fications have received great improvements; a body of his majesty's troops, as well as of the company's soldiers, are generally in garrison, at least in time of war; nor are stores, provisions, or any other necessaries wanting for its defence and security. In the Black-Town the streets are wide, with trees planted in some of them, which afford shelter from the piercing beams of the sun. Some of the houses are of brick; the rest miserable cottages, without a window to be seen on the outsides, or furniture within, except the mats and carpets they lie on. They are built with clay, and thatched; and of the same materials are the habitations of the Indians of better condition, who generally preserve the same form, with a square hole at the top to admit the light. Before their doors are little shades or porches, farther than which they seldom invite strangers. Here they sit morning and evening to receive their friends, and transact business.

The town is, in general, very populous; one of those little mean cottages containing seven, eight, or ten in a family; yet, with all this appearance of poverty, few places abound more in wealth, ready specie no where circulating with greater rapidity. The bazar, or market-place, is every day crouded, and exchanges of property of immense value are made, which they transfer with the same facility with which it is done on the Exchange of London. Upon the whole, the inhabitants of this town have nothing poor, mean, or unclean, but the outside aspect; all within is neat, decent, and, if the furniture is not rich, at least the landlord is generally so. In the Black Town stands an Armenian church, with several little pagodas, or Indian temples, to which belong a number of priests and female choristers. Those girls are early devoted to religion, in which they spend one part of their time, while the remainder is given up to their gallants of any nation, complexion, or religion. They constitute part of the equipage of a great man upon all public occasions, and when he proposes to make a figure. Formerly the governor of Fort St. George used to be attended by fifty of them, as well as by the country music, when he went abroad; but the attendance of the ladies has been of late years dispensed with.

Besides the town of Madrass, the company have a property in several of the neighbouring villages, from which they draw a considerable annual revenue; the whole having been purchased of the king of Golconda, before the Mogul became sovereign of his country. They have also

a house and garden at St. Thomas's Mount. Beyond the Black Town are gardens that extend for half a mile, planted with cocoa-nuts, guavas, mangoes, oranges, and the most delicious fruits, which may be bought for a trifle, together with the liberty of walking in the gardens.

To begin with the privileges of the governor; he has, in the first place, the filling up of vacancies in the Romish church in the White Town, and may, as Mr. Hamilton observes, be called the pope's legate a latere in spiritualities. In conjunction with the council, he is supreme director of the company's affairs. They dispose of all places of trust and profit; inflict punishments on all Europeans in the service, short of life and member; and, indeed, their power may be said to extend even to life, since they can commit to the cock-room, a no less sure, though more slow death than a halter. A court of mayor and aldermen sit twice a week in the town-hall, where the Asiatic inhabitants sue for debts, and implead one another. Suits among Europeans are generally determined by a jury in the judge-advocate's court, to which belong attornies, serjeants, and bailiffs. There are also justices of the peace, who hold their sessions periodically in the Black Town, and decide criminal matters among the Indian inhabitants. They do not proceed to punishment in capital cases; yet there have been instances of their ordering a criminal's ears to be cut off on the pillory. A court of admiralty there likewise is for maritime affairs; and the governor sometimes permits the head officers to hold courts martial for the trial of offenders. Persons guilty of capital offences are confined, as we observed, to the cock-room, dark as a dungeon, and hot as a bagnio, where their only nourishment is rice and water. They are supposed to be sent to Europe to take their trials; but a very little of this confinement is sufficient to render that trouble unnecessary.

But what constitutes the chief power of the governor is, the dispensing privilege he assumes of annulling the decision of the court of aldermen, and even that of the judge-advocate. As the town is a corporation by charter, the mayor and aldermen are chosen by the free burghers; but the governor, it is imagined, generally determines their choice. Although it has laws and ordinances of its own, a court in form, in which the mayor and aldermen sit in their gowns with their maces before them; yet a few pagodas well placed, or a message from the governor, turns the scale of justice. In piracy, by an act of George the First,

Firſt, the company can delegate a power over life and death to the governor and council; this is frequently attended with unhappy conſequences, ſince other treſpaſſes are often ſtrained into piracy. It gives the governor an undue influence over private traders, and too many opportunities of venting his ſpleen and reſentment, ariſing from intereſt, prejudice, and perſonal views. In ſhort, the government, civil and military, of the fort and both towns, is veſted firſt in the governor, then in the council, and by them parcelled out into the inferior courts, over which they preſerve their priſtine influence, power, and authority. By a late act of parliament, the authority of the governor and council is reſtrained, and judges appointed to adminiſter juſtice in India.

The governor is not only preſident of Fort St. George, but of all the other ſettlements on the Malabar and Coromandel coaſts, as far as the iſland of Sumatra; for the governors at Marlborough Fort, &c. are, in fact, but deputies, who receive their inſtructions from him. Some new regulations in this particular have been made, we are informed, in reſpect to Calcutta, and the ſettlements about the Ganges. The governor is alſo captain of the firſt company of ſoldiers, the next in council of the ſecond.

Although the governor's ſalary is but ſmall, not exceeding three hundred pounds per annum, yet trade and perquiſites make it an extreme lucrative employment. When he goes abroad, he has the reſpect paid to him of a ſovereign prince. The guards are drawn out, the drums beat as he paſſes, and fifty or ſixty blacks run before him. His palanquin is alſo eſcorted by a body of ſoldiers, armed with blunderbuſſes; a numerous train of ſervants follows; and notice of his march is given by the country muſic, and the harſh diſſonance of their trumpets. But the greateſt piece of luxury is his being fanned by perſons whoſe ſole buſineſs it is to attend him for that purpoſe, on his viſits and excurſions. Much of this pomp is now laid aſide, and the governor of Fort St. George was ever infinitely ſhort of the pomp ſeen at Batavia.

The council is compoſed of the ſix ſenior European merchants, who have ſalaries from a hundred to forty pounds per ann. according to their ſeniority. Every member has a reſpect ſhewn him proportioned to his ſeat in council, and all of them are greatly ſuperior in dignity to any other inhabitant. They are ſummoned twice or thrice in a week, according to the urgency of affairs, and the governor's pleaſure. All orders, general letters, and

weekly accounts, as warehouſes, ſea-gate, ſtore-keepers, &c. are examined, paſſed, and ſigned by them, or the ſecretary by their order.

There are alſo two ſenior merchants, who have forty pounds a year each, and two junior merchants with ſalaries of thirty pounds per ann. five factors at fifteen pounds per ann. ten writers at five pounds per ann. each. Theſe dine at the company's table, and have lodgings provided for them; ſucceed in courſe to employments and trade if they can raiſe a capital; yet notwithſtanding, no perſons in the univerſe work harder for bread. The company allow two chaplains of the fort one hundred pounds per annum each, and a houſe. They are not permitted to trade publicly, yet few or none return without large fortunes. The ſurgeon of the fort has forty pounds per ann. ſalary, but innumerable ways beſides of repleniſhing his pockets. The judge-advocate's ſalary is one hundred pounds, with which, and other emoluments, he lives with the affluence of a lord chief juſtice in England. The company have alſo two mint officers, called aſſay maſters, to whom they allow ſalaries of one hundred and twenty pounds per ann. each. Here they coin their bullion from Europe and elſewhere, into rupees, which brings a conſiderable profit. They alſo coin pagodas; and the current money of the town and country is from the company's mint. The rupee is ſtamped with Perſian characters, with the Mogul's name, year of his reign, and ſome of his titles.

Cuſtom on goods imported and exported, is perhaps one of the moſt conſiderable branches of the company's revenue. They have five per cent. on all goods brought by ſea; with three, ſix, or twelve finams fee, according to the amount of the import. Theſe fees are divided among the cuſtom-officer, the head ſearcher, and receiver. Run goods are fined at the diſcretion of the cuſtom-officer. We have heard this revenue computed at fifty thouſand pagodas per annum.

The company have beſides, a number of other little revenues, ſuch as the rents of New Town, Egmore, Old Garden, Scavenger, Fiſhing Farm, wine licence, city quit-rents, all which they farm out for conſiderable profits. The duties ariſing from tobacco and betel are ſtill larger. This and the arrack farm they let to the black merchants at above twenty thouſand pagodas yearly. As the tobacco, betel, and Parian arrack are chiefly conſumed in the Black Town, the place muſt be extremely populous.

We

We shall close this account of Madrass with a short view of some useful establishments, though by abuse and mismanagement perverted from the original intention. At Fort St. George is a free-school, where children are taught to read and write. To this foundation belongs a library of books, chiefly in divinity. The church has a stock of four hundred pounds, usually put out to interest at ten per cent. which is applied to repairs of the church, and charity. As the interest is seldom wholly taken up with these purposes, the remainder is applied to the capital; which, together with an annual collection, amounts to a handsome sum. Orphans, the children of wealthy parents, are frequently committed to the care of the trustees for the church. Here they are reckoned more secure than in private hands. The fortunes of the children are put out to interest. Where no will is made, the governor and council take upon them the care of the intestate's effects, which they account for to the relations of the deceased, whether in Europe or Asia. A college they have likewise; but as no art or science is studied in it, it can only be nominal.

The commerce of Madrass is carried on to all parts eastward of the Cape of Good Hope. That of China used formerly to be the most cultivated, on account of the returns of gold and fine goods; but this the company have reduced to nothing, by sending ships directly to China from England. Manilla, under Armenian colours, is a profitable voyage. Batavia, the coasts of Java, Janore, Malacca, Bengal, Quedah, Pegu, and Arracan, together with the ports of Achen, Priaman, Bencoolen, Bantall, and Idriapore, are visited annually. The largest ships go to Mocha, Surat, and other ports of Persia and India, with Bengal and China commodities, touching at several ports on the Malabar coast, for pepper, cocoa kernels, corn, cardamoms, nux vomica, turmeric, &c. &c. But the distinguishing advantage to Madrass, and what first brought a conflux of inhabitants here, was its vicinity to the diamond mines of Golconda. They lie at the distance of a week's journey from the town. When a person goes to the mines with a design to trade, he acquaints the Mogul's officers with his intentions, after he has made choice of a piece of ground to dig. Having paid the money for the spot, the ground is immediately enclosed, and centinels placed round. All stones above sixty grains belong to the emperor; and frauds in this particular are punished

with death. Some acquire fortunes, while others lose their money, their time, and their expectations (X).

By

(X) The diamond mines on the coast of Coromandel, in the kingdom of Golconda, are generally in the vicinity of craggy hills and mountains. In, among, and about these hills, are the places where this precious natural product is sought for. Golkonda and Visapore are known to have mines sufficent to furnish the whole world; but the sovereign, to keep up the price, permits only certain places to be dug In Golkonda are about twenty-three mines. That of Quolure was the first opened. The earth here is of a yellowish cast, abounding with smooth pebbles. The diamonds lie scattered two or three fathoms deep in this earth; although some falsly imagined, they are found in a vein, or continued clusters. That it is not so, is evident from their sometimes digging a quarter of an acre, without having discovered one bit of the precious stone to compensate their labour. Where the surface is covered with great stones, the diamonds found here lie deep, but are valuable on account of their size, pointedness, and lively white water. The common size is about a sixth of a mangelin (a mangelin is four grains); some are found weighing from one to twenty mangelins; but they are extremely rare. The diamonds found in Quolure mine, have generally a bright and transparent lustre, inclining to a greenish colour; but the inside of the stone is perfectly white. This mine is nearly, if not altogether exhausted.

The mines of Malabar, Pattepallân, and Codawillikâll, consist of a reddish earth, inclining to orange, which stains the cloaths of the labourers. Here they dig about four fathoms, and find stones of an excellent water, and crystalline coat; but smaller than those of the former mine. But of all the mines in this kingdom, that of Currure is the most famous. The soil is reddish, a good deal resembling the last we have described. In general it affords well spread stones, of a pale, greenish surface, but white within. The stones are seldom so small as those in the other mines; and they are all kept for the use of the sovereign; at least so they were of late years.

Not far from hence are the mines Lattawaar and Ganjeconto, in the same soil as Currure, and affording similar stones. Those of Lattawaar, however, are deficient in shape, being thick at one side, and thin on the other, like a gun-flint. In other respects, they are at least equal to any in size and beauty. The mine is almost now wore out, and Ganjeconto solely preserved for the use of the Mogul. Jonagerie, Pirai, Anantapelle, Pagalli, Parwilli, all of them consisting of red earth, and now employed, afford many large stones, frequently of a green water. They are, however, much in

requeſt,

By the laſt eſtimate that was made, there appeared to be between eighty and ninety thouſand inhabitants in Madraſs,

requeſt, on account of the ſoundneſs, ſhape, ſize, and freeneſs from blemiſhes. But the moſt abſolute mines, and what alone deſerve that name (the others being more properly pits) are thoſe of Wazergerre and Manuemurg. Here they ſink through rocks of a great height, digging ſometimes forty or fifty fathoms below the baſe. The ſuperficies of the rocks is compoſed of a hard, firm, friable ſtone, into which the miners cut a pit about ſix feet deep, before they arrive at a cruſt of mineral ſtone, reſembling iron ore. They fill this pit with wood, which they keep three or four days burning with the utmoſt violence. When they think it ſufficiently heated, they quench the fire, by ſuddenly pouring in quantities of cold water. By this expedient, they imagine they crack the ſtone, and mollify the mineral cruſt. When it is cold, they dig away all they can, and repeat the ſame operation till they come to a vein of earth, that uſually runs for two or three furlongs under the rock. The earth they dig away, and if this has not ſatisfied expectation, they prooceed deeper, till they are prevented from going farther by water. They ſearch the earth, and break all the cruſt and mineral off carefully. In theſe the diamonds are found, moſt of them large, and few weighing leſs than ſix mangelins. Connoiſſeurs complain of the ſhape of diamonds found here; but they admit the water to equal any. As the miners are entirely ignorant of the uſe of engines for drawing off the water, they are almoſt always prevented from purſuing their ſucceſs.

Maddeburg far exceeds any of the other mines in affording diamonds of a delicate ſhape, elegant water, and bright pellucid ſkin. Many of them are, notwithſtanding veiny and cracked; yet theſe cannot always be diſcovered, unleſs by a jeweller and nice artiſt. This mine produces ſtones of various magnitudes, from ten or twelve in a mangelin, to ſix or ſeven mangelins each. The vein lying near the ſurface of the earth, is purſued with little expence and labour.

Other mines there are at Lavagamboot, where they dig in the ſame manner as at Wazergerre and Manuemurg. The rock is not ſo hard or ſolid; but the earth and ſtones it produces, altogether ſimilar. Wootore, a place near Currure, affords ſtones of a like ſize, ſhape, and water with it. This mine is employed ſolely for the emperor's uſe; and ſingular in this, that the diamonds are found in a black earth.

Melwillee produces ſtones from five or ſix in a mangelin, to fifteen or ſixteen mangelins each. They are found in a very red earth, which adheres ſo cloſely to the diamond, that it ſeems to tinge, and even indent it. This circumſtance would

draſs, and the towns and villages in its territory, and under the juriſdiction of the company. Five hundred of theſe are Europeans living in Madraſs. The town is ſupplied with rice from Ganjam and Orixa, on the ſame coaſt; with wheat from Surat and Bengal; and with fuel, from the iſland of Diſe, near Maſſulipatam. This iſland the viceroy of the coaſt offered to preſent to the governor of Fort St. George, and the inhabitants were deſirous of being under the government of the company. But the pre-

would ſeem to prove Mr. Tournefort's hypotheſis of their vegetation, or rather, that they had once been in a liquid form. Moſt of the ſtones found here have a thick dull coat, inclining to a yellowiſh water, leſs ſtoney and lively than thoſe of the other mines. Few or none produced at Melwillee have a pure cryſtalline ſkin. Another fault they have, that they are apt to ſplit in working, or to fly off in flaws in ſplitting. Some of the diamonds that flatter the moſt from their whiteneſs, no ſooner paſs the mill, than they diſcover the deceit, and preſent a yellow hue, to the diſappointment of the proprietor. What, however, they want in quality, is made up in number; for no mine in Golconda produces larger quantities of diamonds.

In Viſiapoure or Viſapore, another province belonging to the Great Mogul, are fifteen or twenty diamond mines employed. Theſe produce ſtones equal in ſize, ſhape, water, and every point of beauty to the mines of Golconda. The large diamonds are indeed leſs common; and the precious ſtones in general found in a leſs quantity. The matrix, or ſurrounding earth, differs in different mines, as does likewiſe the method of working the mine, and waſhing the matrix. In both provinces, the miners, the employers, and the merchants, are in general Ethnics, not a Muſſulman following either branch of the buſineſs. The merchants are generally the Banians of Guzarat, who, for ſome generations, have deſerted their country, to follow an employment attended with immenſe profits. They correſpond with their countrymen at Madraſs, Surat, Goa, and other maritime ports. The governors of the mines are alſo idolaters. In the province of Golconda, they were rented by a Feulinga Bramin, whoſe agreement with the adventurers is, that all the ſtones exceeding a pagoda weight, (or nine mangelins) ſhall be his, for the king's uſe; the reſt their own. In general, the ſeverity with which frauds and concealments are puniſhed in Golconda, makes thoſe who have poſſeſſed themſelves of a large ſtone, fly to ſome other country, where they may with ſafety diſpoſe of their property (1).

(1) Salmon, vol. i. Hamilton, vol. i. Lockyer, paſſim. Abbé de Guyon, tom. i.

ſident

ſident and council not immediately accepting of the propoſal, both the viceroy and natives altered their ſentiments, and refuſed to let the company erect a factory there [u].

We now proceed to the company's other ſettlements. Formerly they had a factory at Maſſulipatam, and another at Narſipore, for long-cloths, both which we are told are withdrawn, as indeed are moſt of the European ſettlements on that coaſt, on account of the unreaſonable exactions of the neighbouring rajahs. The Engliſh had likewiſe a ſettlement at Angerang, a place ſituated upon a deep river, and famous for the fineſt long-cloth in India: but the eſtabliſhment was ſoon abandoned for ſome particular reaſons. *Maſſulipatam.*

At Vizagapatam the company has a fortified factory, with four baſtions, mounting twenty or thirty pieces of cannon. This ſettlement is upon the Coromandel coaſt, about 18 deg. 40 min. north latitude, having the advantage of a river, the bar of which is ſomewhat dangerous. The ſurrounding country affords cotton cloths of all degrees of fineneſs, together with the beſt doreas or ſtriped muſlins in India. The only thing that can prevent this ſettlement from flouriſhing, is too narrow a capital: moſt of the inhabitants being greatly diſtreſſed to procure ſpecie. *Vizagapatam.*

In the year 1709, this factory was engaged in a petty war with the nabob of Chizkacul. Mr. Holcomb, chief of the factory, had borrowed money from the prince on the common ſeal: he dying, the ſucceeding chief refuſed the nabob payment. Upon this the Indian prince applied to the governor of Fort St. George for redreſs; but meeting with no ſatisfactory anſwer, he had recourſe to arms. At laſt the company compromiſed the affair, and terminated the war, which had been drawn out to a great length without hardly any bloodſhed (Y).

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[u] Salmon, Lockyer, Memoires pour Bourdonnais, vol. i. Hamilton, &c.

(Y) The following incident deſerves notice: after the war was ended, and the nabob returned to his own dominions, he began reflecting upon the uſage he had received from the ſettlements of Fort St. George and Vizagapatam: finding that he was not likely to revenge himſelf by force, he had recourſe to the following ſtratagem: without giving notice, he came attended by a hundred horſe to Vizagapatam, and was got into the factory with twenty or thirty followers, before the chief was apprized of his coming. The alarm being given,

Mr.

In the country round Vizagapatam are many ancient pagods or temples. One in particular, upon a little mountain near the factory, is remarkable. Here the natives worship monkies, who live and breed in great numbers within the temple. They are maintained by priests, whose devotions consist in boiling rice for this tribe of deities. At meal times the little gods assemble at the pagod, eat what their votaries have prepared for them, and then retire in good order into the groves and fields. Killing a man is a crime infinitely less heinous than destroying one of those animals.

About twelve leagues north of Cunnaca stands the town of Ballasore, situated about four miles from the sea, on a river, and placed in about 20 deg. 45 min. north latitude. There is a dangerous bar in this river, sufficiently known to those who navigate the coast, from the many losses and wrecks occasioned by it. Between Cunnaca and Ballasore rivers there is one continued sandy bank, where vast numbers of tortoises resort to lay their eggs. A very delicious fish, called the pamplee, is catched in great plenty in this bay, and sold for two pence the hundred. Two of them are sufficient for a meal. The adjacent country is admirably fruitful, producing, almost spontaneously, rice, wheat, grain, dole, callavances, a variety of pulse, anise, cummin, coriander, and carraway seeds, tobacco, butter, oil, and bees wax. Their manufactures are chiefly of cotton, in sannis, cassas, dimmities, and mulmals: then of silk, and silk and cotton mixed, they make romals, gariahs, and lungies; and of herba, or a species of tough grass, they manufacture ginghams, pinafroes, and several other sorts of cloth for exportation. The English, Dutch,

Mr. Horden, a resolute young fellow, in the service of the company, ran down stairs with a fusee and screwed bayonet. Meeting the nabob at the bottom of the stairs, he presented the gun to his breast, telling him in the Gentoo language, that he was welcome; but if any of his attendants should offer to advance, his (the nabob's) life must answer for it. Disconcerted and astonished at the young gentleman's spirit and bravery, the nabob sat down to weigh the affair, Mr. Horden still keeping the muzzle of his piece to the breast of the Indian chief, while one of the nabob's attendants held a dagger's point close to his back, in which situation the conference held for half an hour, and at last broke up with the nabob's resolution peaceably to depart (1).

(1) Hamilton, vol. i. 380.

and

and French, had all factories here, though they are at present of little consideration, since the navigation of Hugley river has been so much pursued.

The town of Ballasore still pursues the Maldivia trade, supplying that island with rice, and other productions of the country. In return, they take cowries and cayar, or coyr, for the use of shipping. From April to October, the proper season for entering the bay of Bengâl, this town furnishes all the shipping with pilots up Hugley river, who are kept in constant pay by the Europeans. We shall close this relation of Ballasore with a custom peculiar to the natives of this place. They fashion a piece of soft clay into the form of a suppository, which they harden in the sun, till it acquires the consistence of soft wax, and then introduce it into the intestinum rectum. This they imagine serves to cool the part, and every morning they renew the operation.

The English company had formerly a factory at Piply, seated on a river supposed to be a branch of the Ganges. It is now withdrawn, for the same cause as the preceding. The country differs in none of its natural productions from Ballasore [w].

Description of Bengâl.

Advancing eight leagues on the western bank of the river Hugley, you meet with the river Ganga, another branch of the Ganges. It is broader, but shallower than the Hugley, and more incommodious for shipping, on account of sand-banks. A great variety of villages and little cottages appear below the opening of this river; and still greater numbers on those vast plains which extend along the Hugley; but no town of consequence till we come to Calcutta, a market for corn, butter, oil, coarse cloth, and other commodities. Calcutta and Juanpardas are both seated on deep rivers: that by the former runs eastward; by the latter, by the back of Hugley Island, and is in fact a branch of the Ganges. This river leads up to a place called Ruduagar, famous for manufacturing cotton cloth and silk handkerchiefs. Bussindri and Trasinddi, or Gorgat and Cotrong, are situated on this river, and well known for their furnishing the best sugars to be met with in India. A little higher up on the east side of Hugley river is Ponjilly; and about a league farther up stands Calcutta or Fort William, where the company has a settlement, and that the largest of all, Fort St. George

Fort William or Calcutta.

[w] Hamilton, vol. i. chap. 31.

alone

alone excepted. The factory removed hither, A.D. 1690, from Hugley, Mr. Channock being then agent in Bengâl. Having the liberty of settling an emporium in any part of the banks of the river below Hugley, he fixed upon this spot, perhaps the most unhealthy he could have chosen (Z). The fort is an irregular tetragon, built with bricks, and a kind of mortar they call puckah, a composition of brick-dust, lime, melasses, and cut hemp or oakum. This, when thoroughly dry, is as hard, firm, and strong as any stone, closely adhering to the bricks. The town is not more regular than the fort; the houses seeming, by their situation, to be rather a work of chance than of design. Every man built as he thought proper, and best suited his conveniency and taste, without regard to the disposition of the whole. Some stand on a line with the street; others separated from it by a garden; and not two houses bear any resemblance to each other in situation or architecture.

About fifty yards from the fort stands the church, erected by the pious charity of merchants residing here, and the benevolence of mariners. When a minister dies, one of the young merchants officiates in his room, for which he is allowed fifty pounds per annum, added to his other salary, during his apostolical service. The governor's house in the fort is esteemed the neatest and most complete piece of architecture in India. Besides, the factors, writers, and other servants, have commodious apartments within the fort; together with storehouses, magazines, &c. There is also a good hospital at Calcutta, a necessary precaution, considering the frequent occasions there are for it. The company has also pretty gardens, which furnish the factory with all kinds of vegetables. In the garden is a pond, well stored with carp, mullet, calkops, and other kinds of fish. All the other inhabitants of Calcutta enjoy the same

(Z) For three miles to the north-east is a salt-water lake, that overflows in the months of September and October. In November and December, when those floods are withdrawn, the fishes are left dry in prodigious quantities. Their putrefaction is supposed to affect the air; which, together with the fœtid putrid exhalations from the ooze and slime, is conveyed by the north-east wind to Fort William, causing a yearly mortality. Captain Hamilton relates, that when he was there, out of no more than three thousand inhabitants, four hundred and sixty died in less than one year (1).

(1) Hamilton, vol. ii.

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conveniencies, every ſort of proviſion being plentiful and good.

On the oppoſite ſide of the river are docks for careening and refitting the ſhipping. Here the Armenians have a good garden. The garriſon of Fort William generally conſiſts of three or four hundred men. Not many years ſince, the chief uſe of the ſoldiers was to eſcort the fleet from Patana, with the company's ſalt-petre, piece goods, raw ſilk, and opium. Afterwards, as they held the colony in fee-tail of the Mogul, they apprehended no enemies; but dear-bought experience has lately taught the company how little ſtreſs is to be laid on this particular, on which they founded their ſecurity.

In Calcutta there is hardly any ſort of manufacture. The government, which is pretty arbitrary, imprudently diſcourages induſtry and ingenuity in the populace, founding their ſecurity partly on the poverty of the wretched natives. By the weight of the company's authority, if a native has the misfortune to incur the diſpleaſure of the meaneſt Britiſh ſubject, he is liable to fine, impriſonment, or corporal puniſhment.

All religions are tolerated here, the Preſbyterian excepted; for of all perſons, a ſectariſt is to them the moſt odious. The Pagans are permitted to carry their idols in proceſſion; but a Preſbyterian is not ſuffered to worſhip God, unleſs in a ſurplice. The company's colony is limited by a land-mark at Governapore, and another near Baruagul, about ſix miles diſtant; the ſalt water lake bounding it on the land-ſide. It is reputed to contain about fifteen thouſand ſouls. The revenues ariſing to the company are conſiderable, and well paid: they proceed from ground-rent, and conſulage on all goods imported or exported by Britiſh ſubjects; for all other nations are free from all cuſtoms.

The Engliſh gentlemen and ladies live ſplendidly and pleaſantly in Fort William. The forenoons are dedicated to buſineſs, afternoons to reſt, and the evening to recreation. They make excurſions into the fields or gardens in chaiſes or palanquins; or by water in budgeroes, a convenient boat, that rows ſwiftly: here they fiſh and ſhoot teal, widgeon, and other wild fowl. At night they viſit in a friendly manner, except where pride and oſtentation, which too frequently happen, ſpoil ſociety. The ladies in particular are in a perpetual ſtate of hoſtilities, founded upon emulation of dreſs, table, and rank. In ſhort, neither men or women are unanimous in any thing, beſides

sides oppressing the natives, enlarging their fortunes by any means, and yet maintaining the appearance of expence and grandeur [x].

The city of Hugly. Although the company has properly no factory at Hugley, yet being the great emporium of the trade of Bengâl, a short account of it may not be impertinent. It is a town of large extent, but ill built, stretching for two miles along the river. It carries on a prodigious trade; all foreign goods being brought hither for import, and those of the produce of Bengâl, and the neighbouring provinces, for exportation. Fifty or sixty rich ships take in cargoes here yearly, besides what is carried by small vessels to several adjacent countries. The vessels that bring saltpetre from Patana hither, are frequently fifty yards in length, five in breadth, and two and a half in depth, carrying two hundred tons. They fall down in the month of October with the stream; but are towed back by the strength of men, bullocks, and horses, for above a thousand miles. To enumerate all the goods exported from this port, would swell into a great length. Many of them may be seen at the company's sales; but opium, pepper, piece goods, tobacco, and several other kinds of merchandize, are chiefly taken up by the India shipping. We shall conclude this account of the bay of Bengal with observing, that since the revolution in Siam, and the expulsion of the English, from their own imprudent conduct, the company's affairs have been fully reinstated; and they now enjoy the benefit of the commerce of the gulf of Bengâl, from the mouths of the Ganges, to the extremity of the promontory of Malacca, without any disbursements for settlements, forts, or factories.

The company's settlements in the island of Sumatra. On the island of Sumatra, the company have two valuable settlements, viz. Fort Marlborough and Sillebar, besides factors residing in Achen. Their trade with this island is of early date, as may be seen by the commercial treaties between queen Elizabeth and the queen of Achen. Since that time, their privileges have been considerably enlarged by the judicious conduct of Mr. Grey, chief of the English settlements in the island.

Description of the city of Achen. The city of Achen, metropolis of the kingdom of that name, is situated in the north-west end of Sumatra, in 5 degrees 30 minutes north latitude, and is by much the most considerable port in the island. The town stands in a place surrounded with woods and marshes, about the distance of half a league from the sea. It is quite open,

[x] Hamilton, vol. ii. chap. 33, 34. Salmon, p. 256.

without

without wall or moat; the king's palace, with a ditch drawn round, ſeated in the centre. There are about eight hundred houſes in the city, moſt of them built on wooden pillars, to ſecure them againſt inundations and damps. The company had formerly a factory here, but finding it did not anſwer, they withdrew it. The chief produce of the kingdom of Achen, conſiſts of ſome gold-duſt, camphor, and ſapan wood, which they barter for opium, of which they are exceedingly fond, rice, ſalt-petre, cotton and ſilk manufactures, &c. The quantity of gold-duſt, however, merits little conſideration.

On the arrival of a ſhip, the ſhabander muſt be applied to for the liberty to trade. At the Great Quala, or river's mouth, the perſons who go firſt on ſhore are examined by the officer of the guard, who preſently gives notice of their arrival to his ſuperiors, whoſe province it is to adjuſt the preliminaries, which conſiſt of a formal oath, agreed upon between the company and the ſovereign of the country.

The proviſions in the bazar, or market, are goats fleſh, fowls, buffaloes fleſh, fiſh, &c. The camphor ſold in this country is brought from the Sunda Iſlands. It is in general good, but the beſt ſort appears in ſmall ſcales, white and tranſparent, worth about four ſhillings and ſixpence per ounce. The common ſort reſembles large ſea ſand, and is ſold at two ſhillings and ſix pence an ounce.

The bezoar found here is taken from the hog-deer, as they call them. It is an animal ſomething larger than a rabbit, the head like a dog, legs and feet reſembling a deer. This bezoar is valued at ten times its weight in gold; it is of a dark brown colour, ſmooth on the external coat, and that taken off, the colour is ſtill darker, with ſmall fibres underneath; it will ſwim on water. There are ſaid to be ſtones bred in the maw of the Nicobaw pigeon, not inferior to the beſt bezoar. Another ſort of bezoar there is, ſaid to be taken from the porcupine, from which animal it has its name. It is of a reddiſh colour, full of ſmall tranſparent ſtrias or veins; it has not the bitter taſte of the Siaca bezoar we have ſpoke of, nor will it ſwim in water. The monkey bezoar is of a light green tinge, and of a finer poliſh and luſtre than the goat bezoar. Some of them weigh half an ounce, which is valued at forty or fifty rupees, about three pounds twelve ſhillings and ſix pence: but the bezoar from Surat, which is commonly termed monkey bezoar, is ſold for ſix or ſeven rupees an ounce. Some

indeed have imagined that what comes from both places is a compoſition, no way meriting the high price put upon it; and this indeed ſeems to be the opinion of the ableſt phyſicians, who make no difference between it and ſeveral ſuccedaneums now ſubſtituted in its ſtead.

The pepper plant is a production of this iſland, and a great part of the company's trade ariſes from this commodity, which the natives cultivate with great care, though without all the ſucceſs which is found in other places on the Indian coaſt. As to the gold produced in this country, it is affirmed by many writers, that, Japan and China excepted, it is no where found in greater quantities. The Dutch, by being poſſeſſed of the neighbouring iſland of Java, have had the addreſs to fix themſelves likewiſe on Sumatra, where they are ſaid to be in poſſeſſion of a gold mine. However, it turns out but of ſmall account to the proprietors [y]. It is not to be doubted, but the company act with more prudence in neglecting the ſearch after the precious metal, well knowing, that commerce is of itſelf the richeſt mine; a maxim which the empires of Japan, China, and Spain ſufficiently evince. The two former have neglected to dig for gold, which they can more ſecurely draw by trade; the latter has impoliticly neglected trade to dig in Potoſi; though, of all the kingdoms in Europe, Spain retains the ſmalleſt ſhare of that immenſe wealth it yearly brings from Mexico and Peru. Induſtry and parſimony are always the beſt mines; and they alone have raiſed to the higheſt pitch of affluence every nation by which they were cultivated.

The company know, that the mines of Sumatra muſt be worked at a prodigious expence, and the hazard of incurring the averſion of the natives. The Dutch have proved the juſtneſs of their reaſoning. The only certain method then of acquiring the benefit of the gold trade, is what they have taken; ſettling colonies on the iſland, uſing the inhabitants with gentleneſs and affability, obſerving the moſt ſcrupulous juſtice in all dealings with them, and thus by degrees conciliating their eſteem to the European manners. This we take to be the true method of inducing them to uſe or take off European commodities. Thus the inconvenience and danger of ſecuring the obedience of ſo many barbarous nations with a handful of men, will be avoided; a correſpondence will be maintained, which will draw vaſt quantities of gold into

[y] Hamilton, vol. ii. cap. 41—43. Salmon, p. 256—275.

Europe,

Europe, and will afford bread to infinite numbers of poor at home; the real and solid wealth of a state. Navigation and naval power, the arts, the sciences, and the true knowlege of life, will be promoted.

Proceeding through the Streights of Sunda, to the west coast of Sumatra, and thence northward, we meet with the English settlement at Sillebar. It lies in a bay, at the mouth of a large river of the same name. There is nothing belonging to this little factory, established chiefly for the benefit of the pepper trade, worth notice. Ten miles farther to the northward is Bencoolen, where was the chief English colony, till it was removed at a small distance to Fort Marlborough. Bencoolen is known at sea by a high slender mountain, called the Sugar Loaf, that rises twenty miles beyond it in the country. Before the town lies an island, within which the shipping usually ride, and with this, the point of Sillebar extending two or three leagues southward of it, forms a large and commodious bay. The town is almost two miles in compass, inhabited chiefly by natives, who build their houses on bamboo pillars as at Achen. The English, Portuguese, and Chinese, had each a separate quarter. The Chinese build all upon a floor, after the fashion of their country. The English and Portuguese built after their own model; but they found themselves under the necessity of using timber, instead of bricks or stone, on account of the frequent earthquakes with which the country is alarmed. As the town stands upon a morass, the noxious vapours, exhaled by the heat of the sun, made the air extreme sickly to European constitutions. Had not a more healthy spot been fixed upon for the factory, it must probably have been entirely abandoned. We already have given a minute account of the new fort; it will therefore be unnecessary to enlarge farther upon it.

Sillebar.

Bencoolen and Fort Marlborough.

The last place belonging to the company is the island of St. Helena, so called by the Portuguese, who were the first discoverers of it on St. Helen's day, in the year 1502. This island ought, in geographical order, to be described among the African islands; but as it is the property of a company, and so necessary to the refreshment of our ships, exhausted with so long a stretch as that from their settlements on Coast and Bay, as it is called, we have here given it a place. It stands in 16 deg. of south latitude, about six hundred leagues north-west of the Cape of Good Hope, almost half-way between the continents of Africa and America; but nearer to that of the former,

from whence it is distant about twelve hundred miles; and thence is accounted one of its islands.

As the winds always blow a moderate gale from the south-east, there cannot be a more pleasant voyage than from the Cape of Good Hope to St. Helena, which is generally performed in less than three weeks, without shifting a sail, or giving the least apprehension or trouble to the mariners. However, it must be reckoned one of the greatest inconveniencies attending the situation of this island, that the outward-bound Indiamen cannot touch upon it, and are forced to proceed at one stretch from Madeira, or at least from the Canary or Cape de Verd islands, where they seldom put in, to the Cape of Good Hope. The winds blowing constantly from the south-east in these seas, there is no sailing directly from the northward hither; and a ship sent from England to St. Helena, must first sail as far southward as the Cape, and return from thence to the island: it is indeed to be questioned, whether St. Helena has ever been three times made in a direct course from Europe, though we have been told of such accidents arising from storms, or some extraordinary causes[z].

When the Portuguese, those great founders of trade and navigation, first discovered St. Helena, they stocked it with hogs, goats, and poultry, and used to touch at it for provisions, water, and refreshments, in their return from their India voyages, then deemed infinitely more hazardous and long, than experience and improvement in the sciences have now rendered them: but there is no certainty whether they ever established a colony in it, though it is highly probable they did, for the conveniency of preparing all things against the arrival of their shipping. What seems to strengthen this opinion is, the observation of the celebrated commodore Roggewin, who affirms, that the Portuguese having one of their India ships cast away here, they built a chapel afterwards of the wreck, which, though now intirely decayed, has given its name to the finest valley on the island, and one of the most beautiful in the world[a]. This judicious seaman farther says, that, besides quadrupeds, the Portuguese brought hither fowls, partridges, and pheasants, which now run about the mountains in prodigious numbers, and planted a variety of fruit-trees, as lemons, oranges, and pomegranates, all

[z] Pirard de la Val, apud Harris, tom. i. p. 702. [a] Harris, p. 312.

of

of which, from the excellency of the climate, have increaſed ſo amazingly, as to make many people imagine they were the indigenous and native growth of the iſland. But, whether they planted a colony in it or not, certain it is, that it was totally abandoned when the Dutch firſt took poſſeſſion; and that not a Portugueſe was found on the iſland, when, in the year 1600, the Engliſh became its maſters.

After the Engliſh had once got poſſeſſion of St. Helena, they maintained it without diſturbance till the year 1673, when the Dutch took it by ſurprize, but did not long enjoy the fruits of their conqueſt; for it was retaken a ſhort time afterwards, by the brave captain Munden, with three Dutch Eaſt Indiamen in the harbour. Upon this occaſion the Hollanders had fortified the landing-place, and erected batteries of great guns there, to prevent a deſcent; but the Engliſh having knowledge of a ſmall creek, where only two men abreaſt could creep up, climbed to the top of the rock in the night, and appearing next morning behind the batteries, the Dutch were ſo terrified that they threw down their arms and ſurrendered at diſcretion. This creek has been ſince fortified, and a battery of large cannon planted at the entrance of it; ſo that now the iſland is rendered perfectly ſecure againſt all regular approaches or ſudden attacks.

The iſland of St. Helena is about twenty-one miles in circumference (twenty according to Lockyer, and eight leagues in length, ſays captain Funnel), and the land ſo high, that it may be diſcerned at ſea above twenty leagues diſtance. It conſiſts indeed of one vaſt rock, perpendicular on every ſide, like a caſtle in the middle of the ocean, whoſe natural walls are too high to be attempted by ſcaling ladders; nor is there the ſmalleſt beach, except at the bay called Chapel Valley Bay, which is fortified with a ſtrong battery of fifty large cannon, planted even with the water, and farther defended by the perpetual daſhing of prodigious waves againſt the ſhore, which, without farther reſiſtance, makes the landing difficult; and a little creek we have juſt mentioned, where two or three men may land from a ſmall boat, but now rendered inacceſſible by a battery. As there is no other anchorage but at Chapel Valley, touching here is extremely precarious; for the wind always ſetting from the ſouth-eaſt, if a ſhip once overſhoots it, it is a matter of great difficulty again to recover the harbour.

Notwithſtanding St. Helena appears on every ſide to be a hard barren rock, yet on the top it is covered with a coat of fine rich mould, about a foot and a half deep, which produces all manner of grain, graſs, fruits, herbs, roots, and every kind of vegetable, in the utmoſt perfection and plenty. In the year 1585, when Cavendiſh was there, it was one of the moſt delightful ſpots in the univerſe. The valley, ſays he, where the church ſtands, is exceedingly pleaſant; ſo full of fine trees and uſeful plants, that it appears like a fine well cultivated garden, where are long walks of lemon, orange, citron, pomegranate, date, fig, and other trees, loaded with fruit, green, ripe, and in bloſſom, all at the ſame time. Nothing can exceed the pleaſure afforded by this delightful ſhade, not to be exceeded by paradiſe itſelf; a cryſtal ſpring riſing at a diſtance, that diffuſes itſelf into a number of ſmall rivulets, watering the ſeveral parts of the valley, and refreſhing every plant and every tree. In the whole, there is hardly a ſpace empty; for what nature has left unoccupied, that art has ſupplied, by a happy imitation of her works.

After aſcending the rock which borders it to the ſea, the country is prettily diverſified with riſing hills and vallies, the firſt covered naturally with a great variety of herbs, and the latter adorned with elegant plantations of fruit-trees and gardens, among which are diſperſed the houſes of the natives; while herds of cattle low about the fields, ſome of which are fattened for the ſupply of ſhipping and of the iſlanders, and the reſt kept for milk, butter, and cheeſe, and to afford a proſpect equally rich and delightful. Although no country under heaven produces finer crops of wheat, yet ſuch is the indolence and ignorance of the inhabitants (for we cannot attribute it to the quality of the climate), that amidſt affluence they are ſtarved, and their crops totally conſumed by rats, which breed in incredible numbers, and deſtroy every thing with all the deſolation occaſioned by locuſts in ſome other countries. This, however, is an evil to which certainly a remedy might be applied, as well as to the ſcarcity of wine, with which commodity they are now ſupplied by the company's ſhips, and alſo with flour and malt.

As the iſland is too ſandy, and the ſoil too thin for large trees to take root, it is extremely deficient in wood; and their very houſes are ſent ready framed from England: but with regard to underwood, they have as much as is wanted

wanted in this warm climate. There are upon the iſland between two and three hundred Engliſh families, or at leaſt deſcended from Engliſh parents, or ſome way allied to them. Some French refugees were likewiſe encouraged to ſettle, in order to propagate vines and make wines, a point in which they have been by no means ſucceſsful. Every family has its houſe and plantation on the higher part of the iſland, where they look after their cattle, hogs, goats, and poultry, fruit and kitchen gardens, without ſcarce ever deſcending to the town in Chapel Valley, unleſs it be once a week to church, or when the ſhipping arrives; at which time almoſt every houſe in the valley is converted to a punch-houſe, or lodgings for their gueſts, to whom they ſell their hogs, poultry, and fruits, receiving in exchange flour, wine, and whatever neceſſaries they want, but they muſt firſt come into the company's warehouſe. The merchandize uſually laid in by the company are Cape wines, brandy, European or Canary wines, Batavia arrack, beer, malt, ſugar, tea, coffee, china-ware, Japan cabinets, linen, callicoes, chints, muſlins, ribbands, woollen cloths, and ſtuffs, with a variety of other particulars, which it would be unneceſſary to recite.

The complexions of people born in this iſland differ from thoſe of all warm climates beſides; for here their faces look freſh and ruddy, with all the bloom of health and robuſtneſs of conſtitution, without that fallowneſs peculiar to thoſe born within or near the tropics, where white people look pale, ſickly, and wan, without any of that mixture of red and white to be found in the natives of St. Helena, which may be aſcribed to the following cauſes. Here they live on the top of a mountain, always open to the ſea breezes, that blow conſtantly, and refreſh the air. They are wholly employed in the healthful occupations of huſbandry and gardening. Their iſland has no fens to annoy it, and no rivers which overflow their banks, and leave a ſtagnating water to be exhaled by the ſun's beams, which renders the air groſs, and charged with malignant vapours: beſides, the atmoſphere is greatly cooled by charming refreſhing ſhowers, that agreeably temper the warmth of the climate. To theſe circumſtances may be added, the conſtant exerciſe the inhabitants undergo, from the very nature of the iſland; for in going from the town in Chapel Valley to their plantations, the road is ſo ſteep, that they are forced to climb a great part of the way, and in one place to uſe a ladder, which from hence is called

Ladder Hill; nor can this inconvenience be avoided, without going two or three miles round (Z).

As to the genius and disposition of the natives, most writers describe them to be the happiest, the most inoffensive, and hospitable people to be met with in any country.

Near Chapel Valley is the fort, where the governor and garrison reside, which is but inconsiderable, the situation of the island forming its chief strength. The governor has always centinels on the highest part of the island to the windward, who give notice of the approach of all shipping, upon which guns are fired, as a signal for every man to repair to his post. Thus it is impossible for a ship to come in the night, but preparations have been made the day before, when she cannot fail of having been discovered. This precaution, so well known to all nations, renders the natives secure against all attacks, and gives this satisfaction to our mariners, that as soon as they appear in the offing, they are sure to find every thing ready for their reception as friends.

The company were formerly in possession of divers settlements on the coasts of the Chinese empire, as well as in the kingdom of Tonquin, all of them now withdrawn. They still trade largely to those parts; but without having any established factories. Their house was formerly in the island of Chusan, when the trade was carried on at Ameyor. From thence it was removed to Canton, where, for about forty years it flourished with such vigour, that they were in expectation of wholly engrossing this beneficial branch of commerce. What defeated those expecta-

(Z) Most voyagers who have touched here have soon experienced the healthfulness of the climate, and the salutary effects of the refreshing vegetables and wholsome water of this island. The most sickly and scorbutic crews have been restored to full vigour and strength, in a time incredibly short. Francis Pirard de la Val, who was afterwards shipwrecked on the Maldivia islands, touched at St. Helena in the year 1601, with his crew, in the most deplorable situation that imagination can picture to itself, hardly a man on board being fit to hand a sail or walk the deck, so eat up and weakened were they with the scurvy; yet in the space of nine days they all recovered their former health, acquired an additional vigour and chearfulness to what they possessed naturally, all owing to the climate and sanative vegetables of St. Helena (1).

(1) Vide his Voyage, p. 52.

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tions, were the high duties laid upon tea, and other Chineſe commodities. This tax gave an encouragement to ſmuggling, which ſoon reduced the China trade far below its natural ſtandard. As a part of this tax has been taken off, it is probable that the trade is now again upon a proper footing; though if we may judge from the late extravagant price of tea, there is ſtill ſome defect, either in the commerce itſelf, or in the conduct of it. One thing is certain, that the government will always find it an imprudent meaſure to tax this commodity high; as the revenues will conſtantly riſe in the proportion in which the price of tea falls. Whether this be a natural advantage, including all circumſtances, it is not our buſineſs to enquire.

The Engliſh prohibited to trade to the Manilla or Philippine Iſlands.

The company are in a manner wholly excluded from the Manilla or Philippine iſlands, at leaſt in a public manner. The French, indeed, allege that they trade there under Iriſh colours; but they beſt know what colours theſe are; or whether they would afford any protection to the ſhipping. Our opinion is, that any commerce carried on with thoſe iſlands, is in fact done under Moriſco, Armenian, or Portugueſe flags. The cuſtom of the Spaniſh nation in this particular is without example: the trade is laid open, and no people on earth excluded, except the Dutch and Engliſh; a precaution of little conſequence, where the inhabitants find it their intereſt to overlook it. In Japan there is not the faineſt trace of Engliſh commerce; all the commodities of that vaſt empire, with which our company is ſupplied, being furniſhed at ſecond-hand by the Chineſe and Dutch.

We ſhall ſum up the whole of our account of the Engliſh Eaſt India company with a few remarks, by way of introduction to the commercial hiſtories of other European nations, as they follow in this volume. And firſt, it is obſervable, that no country was more famous and celebrated among the ancients, and none leſs known than the Indies. Nothing could be more perplexed and chimerical than the notions of this quarter of the globe, although they were founded on the nature of a country, whoſe wealth and profuſion of the luxuries of life, had rendered it above all others remarkable. Common report had magnified every thing into the marvellous; the land produced men that were giants, and the rivers were repleniſhed with monſters: fables that were believed in the moſt enlightened ages of Greece and Rome. The ancients were ſenſible that nature afforded not a more abundant ſource of wealth than

than the Indian commerce, having beſtowed on this happy climate not only every neceſſary, but every luxury of life, in the moſt profuſe manner; and this it was that drew thither the firſt ſons of fame. Bacchus, in the fabulous period, is ſuppoſed to have firſt penetrated into India; Hercules exerciſed his valour on this theatre; Seſoſtris viſited theſe countries, as far as the coaſts of Japan; and Arabia acquired the name of Felix, or Happy, from her commerce with India. But there are no older monuments of an eſtabliſhed maritime trade thither, than that which the Egyptians and Phœnicians afford, chiefly the latter, the moſt ancient commercial nation that exiſts in the annals of human affairs [b]. Solomon, the moſt prudent of monarchs, eſteemed this traffick the brighteſt gem in his diadem; and hence drew ſuch immenſe treaſures, as rendered his government the admiration of mankind. During the Perſian empire, the Phœnicians ſent their fleets into the eaſtern ocean; but when the deſpotiſm of that enſlaved people had chaſed commerce from Phœnicia, then Alexandria became the mart of Indian merchandize; in founding which noble city, Alexander propoſed laying the foundation of commerce; a project worthy of the conqueror of the world.

After the reduction of Perſia, this monarch ſet on foot three deſigns of the utmoſt conſequence to his empire and glory; the firſt was the perfect diſcovery of the Hyrcanian or Caſpian ſea, the greateſt part of its ſhore being hitherto unknown. The ſecond was a project no leſs great and uſeful, the eſtabliſhing a powerful maritime force in the Indian ocean; for which purpoſe he ordered forty-ſeven large ſhips to be built by the Phœnicians. With theſe he propoſed examining the Indian coaſt more accurately than hitherto had been done: to take an account where convenient ports might be made; and laſtly, to procure perfect intelligence as to the nature and value of Indian commodities. His third deſign was the conqueſt of Arabia, with the motives for which we have nothing to do. To theſe deſigns of this hero and ſtateſman, the beſt geographers, the moſt accurate hiſtorians, and the ableſt philoſophers of antiquity, own themſelves indebted for almoſt all their knowlege of this part of the world. However, of all his expeditions, the voyage of Nearchus his admiral, from the mouth of the river Indus, above the coaſt of Per-

[b] D'Herbel. Biblioth. Orient. paſſim. Huit Hiſtoire du Commerce et de la Navigation des Anciens, chap. 55.

ſia,

sia, through the gulf, and to the mouth of the Euphrates, was the most remarkable and useful to the purposes of commerce and navigation (A). But the conqueror did not live to reap the fruits of these extended views, which were afterwards carefully pursued by some of his successors, especially the Ptolemies, who raised Alexandria to the highest pitch of commercial greatness (B).

The wealth which this commerce drew into Egypt, and which, by means of this city, it continued to enjoy for ages, was at once the cause of its prosperity and ruin; the Romans being invited by the former to share in a trade which brought with it such immense treasures, and so great an augmentation of their maritime force. We may judge of the value the ancients put on this trade, by the avidity with which they guarded it against all encroachments. The Romans, after numberless victories, and establishing the most universal empire mankind had ever seen, were for a time deterred from entering on the Indian commerce by the frightful tales related by the Arabian merchants, at that time the carriers of this prodigious treasure; but at length the love of gold triumphed over every other passion, and Augustus made some attempts to open a communication with India. Neither the attempts

(A) This voyage Nearchus not only conducted in person, but also wrote a very accurate and distinct account of, which is in a great measure preserved by Arrian, in his history of Alexander's expedition. It is frequently quoted by Strabo and Pliny, and was indeed considered by the greatest writers of antiquity as the most authentic and curious piece of its kind then extant.

(B) Besides this, Ptolemy Philadelphus having considered the difficulties that attended the commerce of his subjects in Arabia and India, for want of proper ports in the Arabian Gulf, resolved to remove that inconvenience, by erecting a new city nearer the mouth of the gulf, on the side of the isthmus or promontory that projects itself into the Red Sea. This turned out to be rather a fine city than a convenient port for trade; for the harbour, called Myos Hormus, was distant one thousand eight hundred stadia from the new city called Berenice, from his mother. This wise prince directed likewise various towns to be built between Berenice and Coptos, upon the Nile, distant from it about two hundred and sixty miles; but Myos Hormus, Port of the Mouse, afterwards called the Port of Venus, was the staple of Indian merchandize, and from thence the trade was carried on to the Indies (1).

(1) Strabo, lib. xvii. p. 815.

of

of this prince, nor of any of his ſucceſſors, were ſucceſsful in eſtabliſhing an immediate trade.

When the Romans firſt became maſters of Egypt, the navigation was proſecuted by ſailing down the Arabian Gulf to a port near the promontory of Siagrus, which Ptolemy places in the latitude of 14 deg. 40 min. This, beyond controverſy, is the point of the Arabian coaſt now called Cape Fartak, laid down by the beſt modern geographers in the ſame latitude. Hence they ſailed to the mouth of the river Indus, that is, to the iſland of Pattala, ſo often mentioned by Arrian. Afterwards the navigation was changed, one Hypalus diſcovering a ſhorter route, under the reign of the emperor Claudius. This perſon, by obſerving when the trade-wind blew, was enabled to paſs at once through the ſtreights, and acroſs the Indian ocean, directly to Pattala, which was deemed a navigation ſo extraordinary, that the ſouth-weſt wind was afterwards called by his name [b].

In progreſs of time, the Romans made ſtill farther diſcoveries, in which, however, they met with perpetual interruptions from the piracies of the Arabians, which obliged them, beſides their ordinary compliment of ſeamen, to carry a certain number of ſoldiers in each ſhip, a circumſtance that greatly enhanced the charges of the voyage. At laſt the great profits, it was obſerved, this traffick might produce, if rightly cultivated, increaſing the number of adventurers, all difficulties were ſurmounted, and an annual trade from Alexandria to the mouth of the Indus was eſtabliſhed by the following route: all merchandize intended for the Indian markets were ſhipped at the port of Alexandria, from whence they were carried to Juliopolis, two miles from thence, and ſo up the Nile to Coptos, in 25 deg. 20 min. latitude, according to Ptolemy's Tables, and three hundred and three miles up the river. If the wind was fair, this voyage was commonly performed in twelve days. At Coptos the veſſels were unloaded, and the goods tranſported on the backs of camels in eight days to Berenice, at the diſtance of two hundred and fifty-eight miles, where they remained in warehouſes till the proper ſeaſon of the year for continuing their voyages, which was about the riſing of the dog-ſtar; when the goods were embarked for the laſt time, the veſſels ſteered directly for the Arabian coaſt, and in thirty days arrived at Ocelis, which Ptolemy the geographer places in 12 deg. though

[b] Plin. Nat. Hiſt. lib. vi. cap. 23.

probably

probably that situation is greatly too far to the southward. Sometimes the fleet sailed to Cana or to Mirza, both of them ports on the opposite coasts of Arabia, though only frequented by the merchants of the country [c], who here bought frankincense, and took in exchange for this commodity, arms, knives, and toys. Ocelis was however the principal port, because here they met with Indian merchants, and it lay commodiously for prosecuting their voyage to the continent of India, where they usually made the port of Maziris in forty days (C). This port being found inconvenient, from the depredations of certain pirates in its neighbourhood, they fought a better station, and with this view fixed upon the port of Becaha, whence with Indian prows they transported their goods up a navigable river, to a great trading town called Maduſa. Having completed their affairs here, they seized the opportunity of the trade-wind back, by the assistance of which they usually returned to Alexandria towards the end of December or beginning of January. The Indian commodities thus brought into Egypt were transported by land to Coptus, thence by the Nile to Alexandria, and thence to Rome, by the annual fleet from Alexandria, which was first appointed by Augustus.

The expence, or rather the stock annually invested by the Romans in the commodities fit for this commerce, amounted in Pliny's time to fifty millions of sesterces, or about four hundred and three thousand pounds sterling money, the profits on goods being cent. per cent. an immense stock and profit, considering the early period, and the strange expensive track of this traffick.

This short recital of the commerce of the Romans with India, we imagined would not be disagreeable to many of our readers, especially as it is but slightly touched upon by modern writers, and to be found only in a confused and scattered manner in the remains of antiquity.

After Constantine had translated the seat of empire to Byzantium, the eastern trade still subsisted; Alexandria continued to be the principal emporium, while Seleucia of Syria was the route of the more inland commerce; and the Barbarians dwelling on the bleak borders of the Euxine

[c] Ibid. lib. 23. cap. vi. Etiam Peris Maris Erythræi, p. 14.

(C) If Ptolemy's Tables have not received some alteration, this port stood in the latitude of 14 deg.

sea,

sea, felt the charms of the wealth that poured into the Greek empire through this channel. At length commerce shared the fate of learning, arts, and government, and the provinces through which it flowed. The military genius of the Arabs, the successors of Mohammed, extinguished every spark of the spirit of commerce and science. Fury, mad zeal, ignorance, and barbarity, seemed to be let loose to waste every thing, to debase the human genius, and confound mankind in a cloud of impenetrable darkness and obscurity. But no sooner had the grandson of that monarch, who dismembered Africa from the descendants of Mohammed, founded Grand Cairo, and furnished protection to the merchants, than the rich flow of eastern wealth once more returned to its ancient channel, and with it liberty, learning, science, arts, and every thing valuable and dear to men. The new-built city became at once the chief mart of the western world, rich, populous, and the seat of a new empire. The Venetians, Genoese, Pisans, Florentines, and some other free states of Italy, raised themselves on the ruin of the Grecian empire; and profiting by the general confusion, seized part of its dismembered dominions; succeeding at the same time to the trade of the Indies by the channel of Egypt, the commodities of which being distributed all over the North, were to them a mine of infinite wealth and power, that soon raised the Venetians in particular, from a mean, despicable handful of refugees, to the most respectable state of all Italy, and the chief maritime power of Europe, perhaps of the whole world.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXXIII.

The Conqueſts, Settlements, and Diſcoveries of the Dutch in the Eaſt Indies, comprehending the Hiſtory of the Riſe, Progreſs, and ſucceſsful Eſtabliſhment of their Eaſt India Company, the Nature of their Conſtitution, the Extent of their Dominions, the Importance of their Commerce, the Form of Rule eſtabliſhed in their Colonies, as alſo the domeſtic Oeconomy of the Company, and how they are ſubject to the States of the United Provinces.

SECT. I.

The Motives which induced the Merchants in Holland to think of opening a Trade to the Eaſt Indies: the Project of diſcovering a new Paſſage, by paſſing round the North-eaſt of Europe and Aſia: three Attempts made with this View, which prove all of them unſucceſsful.

THE commerce which the ſubjects of the States General of the United Provinces have carried on for about a century and a half in the Eaſt Indies, hath been ſo highly beneficial to them in every reſpect, hath brought ſuch immenſe treaſures into their country, has ſupplied ſuch prodigious ſums to their government, and hath contributed ſo much to that mighty naval power to which this republic owes as well her domeſtic freedom as the figure ſhe has made in Europe, that a more noble or a more uſeful ſubject can be hardly found, than to explain the riſe, to trace the progreſs, and to ſet in a clear light the preſent ſituation of that important trade of which they are in poſſeſſion, and which it is both expedient and neceſſary, eſpecially to the ſubjects of every maritime power, ſhould be thoroughly underſtood. *The great importance of the Dutch commerce in the Eaſt Indies.*

As the tyranny which the Spaniards exerciſed over the inhabitants of the Seven Provinces, while under their dominion, gave being to that republic; ſo the ſame arbitrary meaſures with regard to the inhabitants of the remaining *The true original of this trade.*

maining part of the Low Countries, which still continued in subjection to the crown of Spain, was the real source of that wealth and power to which this new commonwealth rose in a manner so sudden, and so surprising [d]. Amongst other advantages, they furnished them with this of trading to the East Indies; it is true, they meant nothing less, yet the methods they took were such as actually produced it; and though much may be attributed to the wisdom and spirit with which those entrusted with the administration in Holland cherished, conducted, and protected this traffick in its infancy, yet still it must be allowed, that the foundation was laid by the mismanagements and mistakes of the Spaniards, without which the industry of the Dutch would have had nothing to work upon.

Most of the rich merchants driven out of the Spanish Low Countries by severities.

The Portuguese had been near a hundred years in possession of the only direct correspondence with the East, which, together with the dominion of their country, was now transferred to the Catholic king Philip II. and as his subjects of Spain and Portugal enjoyed the exclusive trade of both the Indies, so his subjects in the Low Countries reaped the greatest part of the profit that arose from the disposition of their produce through the more distant parts of Europe. This had rendered Bruges and Ghent rich and populous; this had made Antwerp the great mart of Europe, had lodged her citizens in palaces, and filled her port with such incredible quantities of shipping, that it is reported four hundred vessels have come to an anchor there at one time: but as property begets the love of freedom, and furnishes also the means of resisting what may induce slavery, so the ministers of that great monarch very wisely informed him, that to render these people obedient, their wealth must be diminished. These counsels, once received, were soon carried into execution; and after Antwerp was reduced by force of arms, the inhabitants were so treated, that they chose rather to retire with what little they had left, than to remain in a place where they had no security of keeping it. The same kind of usage had the very same effect upon the rich merchants and industrious manufacturers in the neighbouring cities; and to avoid slavery and persecution, they fled wherever they had a reasonable prospect of living in peace, and worshipping God according to the dictates of their own consciences: such were the effects of Spanish policy in the first instance!

[d] Memoires sur le Commerce des Hollandois, chap. ii.

The

The vicinity of the United Provinces, joined to the mildneſs of the government, freedom from impoſitions, and a general toleration, drew numbers of them thither, and of theſe many of the wealthieſt and moſt experienced traders ſettled at Amſterdam, where the States gave them all imaginable encouragement, and ſhewed the greateſt willingneſs to farther any deſigns they might form for augmenting their fortunes [d]. Theſe knowing and induſtrious perſons, well acquainted with each other, and having correſpondence in moſt of the trading parts of Europe, began to fit out ſhips, and to revive, as well as they were able, that general traffick which they had formerly carried on. But as they found this a thing impracticable, without dealing in the commodities of India, they ſoon fell upon a method which anſwered that end tolerably well, by ſending veſſels, under neutral colours, to purchaſe thoſe commodities in the port of Liſbon. It was not long before the Spaniſh miniſters were made acquainted with this correſpondence, and perſiſting ſtill in their former reſolution of propagating poverty to the utmoſt extent of their power, they immediately reſolved to put an end to what they called an illicit trade, without conſidering either the preſent conſequence of depriving their maſter's ſubjects, the Portugueſe, of a market for their goods; or that which was more remote, the forcing thoſe that were now content to purchaſe them at Liſbon, to find a way of coming at them from the firſt hand [e]. Confiſcating their ſhips, and impriſoning their ſeamen, quickly diſcouraged the merchants of Amſterdam, and thereby anſwered the ends of the Spaniſh politicians, which was, preventing their acquiſition of Indian commodities by that channel, which very naturally put them upon conſidering if they might not be obtained ſome other way, ſince without them experience had ſhewn their general aſſortments would be incomplete.

Retire into the dominions of the States General, and are there received, protected, and encouraged.

One would imagine that the ſhorteſt and moſt natural reſolution in this caſe would have been fitting out ſhips for the Indies; and ſo, very probably it was; but upon a little conſideration, it appeared to the warmeſt, as well as the varieſt of thoſe able merchants, a very dangerous, if not impracticable ſcheme. In the firſt place, it was objected, that the paſſage was long, dangerous, and diffi-

Deſirous of opening a trade to the Eaſt Indies through the north-eaſt paſſage.

[d] Grotii Annal. & Hiſtoriæ de Rebus Belgicis, lib. v. [e] Avertiſſement à la Tête de Recueil des Voyages qui ont ſervi à l'Etabliſſement et aux Progrès de la Compagnie des Indes Orientales.

cult, and they had no ſeamen that were acquainted with the coaſts, or factor that underſtood the method of carrying on the trade: next, that their enemies had a vaſt naval force, which would be infallibly employed to intercept the ſhips; and that if they were fortunate enough to reach the Indies, they would find the Spaniards and Portugueſe ſtronger there than in Europe. Upon mature deliberation, therefore, the ſetting out a few ſhips at the expence of private men, to ſail to the Indies without any cover, commiſſion, or protection againſt thoſe who were already poſſeſſed of a vaſt empire there, and were known to ſpare no pains to maintain and ſupport it, was rejected as a thing well deſigned, but obſtructed in its execution by inſurmountable difficulties. The next point to be conſidered was, whether ſome other route might not be found, which would ſerve as effectually for ſupplanting the Portugueſe, as that by the Cape of Good Hope had availed them in carrying away this lucrative trade from the Venetians; which being a project free [f] from thoſe difficulties that embarraſſed the former, appeared in their judgment to be infinitely more eligible, provided, upon experiment, it ſhould be found practicable.

Reaſons which induced the merchants in Holland to look on this diſcovery as advantageous.

The ſeamen and mathematicians being called into this conſultation, propoſed attempting ſomething without delay towards the diſcovery of a paſſage to China and Japan by the north-eaſt, which appeared to them a thing both probable and practicable, notwithſtanding the diſappointments the Engliſh had met with in their voyages on that ſide. The advantages that might be expected from this diſcovery were very obvious, as well as very great; it would ſhorten the time in going and returning to the Indies one half; the navigation would be much wholſomer and much eaſier for the ſeamen; they would avoid all enemies in their paſſage; they would arrive firſt on thoſe coaſts, which, to the Portugueſe, were the moſt remote in the Indies, where they had the leaſt ſtrength, and from which, notwithſtanding, they might bring the moſt valuable returns. All theſe particulars being conſidered, the expence of the trial not being very great, and the expedition requiring but a ſmall ſpace of time, it was agreed that no more ſhould be loſt in an undertaking of ſuch importance [g].

[f] Hiſtory of the Voyages made for the Diſcovery of a North-eaſt Paſſage to China, p. 3.

[g] Diſcours ſur le Paſſage par le Nord-eſt de l'Europe dans les Mers des Indes.

A ſuf-

A sufficient stock being raised by a small number of traders, Balthazar Moucheran, a Zealander, who was at the head of the company, petitioned prince Maurice and the States for leave to discover a passage to China by the north-east, which was readily granted him. Four vessels were presently fitted out; and the chief direction was given to William Barentz, a very able pilot, a man of good sense and great courage. He sailed with his small squadron June the 5th, 1594, and proceeded to the latitude of 78th degrees north; and then, not being able to prevail upon his company to continue any longer in those parts, returned to Amsterdam on the 16th of September. Though this voyage was unsuccessful, yet, upon the report of Barentz, and of others who accompanied him, the probability of discovering a passage through the streights of Wygatz appeared so great, that the prince and the States ordered a fleet of six sail to be fitted out the succeeding year, with a bark to bring advice of their having passed the streights; which fleet, commanded by James Heemskerk and William Barentz, sailed June the 2d, 1595; but this fleet, of which there were such great expectations, performed little or nothing, returning to Holland in less than five months, with an account that the savages had informed them, that there was a great sea to the eastward of Tartary, into which they might enter. This miscarriage discouraged the States from attempting any thing farther at the public expence, and therefore they contented themselves with offering a reward of twenty-five thousand florins to any private persons that should attempt and make the discovery. Upon this encouragement, the city of Amsterdam fitted out two vessels, having on board Heemskerk and Barentz, who sailed on the 18th of May, 1596. These were more unfortunate than the former, the biggest of the two ships being lost upon the coast of Nova Zembla, where the crew were obliged to winter, and consequently to endure prodigious hardships, by which many of them perished, and Barentz amongst the rest, who died, notwithstanding, in a full opinion that there was a passage. Heemskerk and the rest returned in two shallops they had fitted up out of the wreck of their ship, in the month of October, 1597; and this third disappointment put a stop for a time to all thoughts of prosecuting discoveries on this side[i].

Three fruitless expeditions for the finding this passage by the north-east.

[i] Sallengre Essai d'une Histoire des Provinces-unies, p. 63.

SECT. II.

The Accident by which they were first introduced into the East Indies; the Consequences of this Introduction, and the Vigour with which their Merchants prosecuted this new Trade.

Cornelius Houtman, discovers the Portuguese route by the Cape of Good Hope

WHILE they were thus employed in Holland in concerting means to open a passage to the East Indies, which Providence did not favour, a new and unexpected accident fell out, which turned their thoughts quite another way. Amongst the Dutch seamen who were seized, as we have shewn, at Lisbon, in 1594, there was one Cornelius Houtman, who, with a sound head and stout heart, had a bold enterprising genius, which both inclined him to undertake great things, and enabled him to execute them. This man, having some liberty allowed him, employed it in conversing with the Portuguese seamen, making the best enquiry he could into the course they held in their East India voyages, the places to which they traded, and the manner of their dealing with the natives. In all these particulars, by dint of his liberality, and that admiration which he expressed at all he heard, he procured much information before the government had any notion of what he was about; which they no sooner received, than they committed him to prison, and laid a heavy fine upon him for his enquiries. Houtman, in these melancholy circumstances, applied himself to a company of merchants at Amsterdam, to whom he proposed, that, if they would pay his fine, and enable him to return home, he would communicate to them all that he had discovered. This offer, coming after the first disappointment in their endeavour to find a passage by the north-east, was very well received; and, after being thoroughly canvassed, they determined to close with him; and accordingly remitted a sum sufficient to pay his fine, and to bring him home. It may be justly wondered at, that those, who were so quick in entertaining suspicions when they heard of Houtman's conversations with the seamen, and had recourse to precautions so proper upon that occasion, should yet entertain no jealousy upon his paying a large fine, but set him at liberty, as they did, and suffer him to return home, where he punctually discharged his promise [k].

[k] Succinct Account of the Dutch Commerce in the East Ind. p. 35.

After

After having sufficiently considered what he offered, they resolved to erect another company, called the company for remote countries; the directors of which were Henry Hudden, Reiner Pauw, Peter Hasselaer, &c. who came to a resolution, A. D. 1595, to send four vessels to the Indies by the way of the Cape of Good Hope. Houtman, and some others, who had the command of the vessels employed in this expedition, were ordered to observe the course they steered very exactly, and to settle with the Indians a commerce for spices, and other goods, especially in those countries where the Portuguese had no settlements [1]. These ships returned to Holland in two years and four months; and though they had made no great profit of the voyage, yet their success animated their owners, and several other merchants, to carry on the design with all imaginable vigour (D); and, a member of that company

A new company erected for carrying on this trade, with whom the merchants of Amsterdam likewise associate themselves.

[1] Voyages de la Compagnie des Indes Orientales, tom. i. p. 265.

(D) The person chiefly intrusted in the management of this voyage was Cornelius Houtman, to whom they were under great obligations for the lights he had procured them, as well in respect to the course the vessels were to steer, as the manner in which their trade was to be managed in the Indies. In the execution, however, of this enterprize, his conduct was not altogether so laudable or so fortunate as might have been expected; for, by his rash discourse at Bantam, in the island of Java, he brought himself into confinement, and the whole squadron into great danger; and, in their return home, he was strongly suspected of poisoning the master of the ship on board which he sailed, and for which he was confined, but at length acquitted and released, though still held in great suspicion. If it had not been for these mistakes, and certain acts of extravagance committed by the seamen, that squadron might have returned entire in less time, and with a better cargo. As it was, they sailed April the 2d, 1595, from the Texel, and returned August the 12th, 1597, having lost the Amsterdam, which they burnt, being leaky, and they not having men enough to navigate all the four vessels (1). It was the loss of this vessel that abated the value of the goods which they brought home, the most considerable of which were cloves, nutmegs, mace, and pepper. The last of these spices they purchased at Bantam from the natives, the rest they took from the Portuguese at the same place. The report they made was to this purpose; that the natives were every where ready enough to trade;

(1) Grot. Annal. lib. vi. Le Clerc Histoire des Provinces-unies, vol. i. p. 191.

pany being dead, they presently put into his place Gerard Bicker, a very considerable merchant [m]. Then they had advice that some other merchants of Amsterdam designed to fit out ships for India; upon which, to avoid animosities, they thought it necessary to unite with those merchants; and accordingly the two fleets, consisting of eight vessels, joined under the command of James Van Nek, their admiral, and sailed from the Texel, A. D. 1596 [n].

The success of their expeditions encourage other merchants to form new societies.

A design of the same nature was likewise set on foot in Zealand, where Balthasar Moucheran before mentioned, Adrian Hendricktzen Haaf, with some other partners, fitted out ships for the Indies. The inhabitants of Rotterdam, excited by such examples, formed a company also, and fitted out five ships, under the command of James Mahu, with orders to sail to the Molucca Islands by the streight of Magellan and the South Sea [o]. In the mean time the Amsterdam merchants grew more and more sanguine; and the company before mentioned, without staying for the return of the fleet they had sent already, fitted out three ships more, which put to sea May the 4th, 1599, under the command of Stephen Vander Hagan [p]. On the 8th of July the same year, four of the eight ships that went out first arrived in the Texel; and, after they were unloaded, were immediately sent back again under the command of James Willekens. About this time also the merchants, who had retired from Brabant to Amsterdam, formed a new company upon the same design, and fitted out four vessels, which put to sea December, 1599, together with four of the old company's ships. Two years after all these ships came home with rich cargoes. But, before their arrival, this new company had sent out two ships more, which were joined by six of the old company's, putting to sea A. D. 1600, under the command of James

[m] Avertissement à la Tête de Recueil des Voyages de la Compagnie, &c. p. 29. [n] Journal or Daily Register of this Voyage, London, 1601, 4to. [o] Avertissement à la Tête Recueil des Voyages de la Compagnie, p. 29. [p] Voyages de la Compagnie des Indes Orientales, tom. iii. p. 91.

that the Portuguese and Spaniards were excessively hated; and that there was no danger at all in going with a competent force to the Moluccas; which news, with the sight of the spices, raised the hopes of their countrymen prodigiously (z).

(z) Avertissement à la Tête de Recueil des Voyages de la Compagnie, &c. p. 29.

Van

Van Nek; and in process of time all of them returned to their respective ports. Upon this happy success, more ships were fitted out from Amsterdam, Zealand, and elsewhere; among others, thirteen from Amsterdam, namely, four belonging to the old, and four to the new company, under the command of James Heemskerk and James Grenier; and five more of the old company, bound for the Moluccas, under the command of Wolphart Harmansz; all the thirteen sailed from the Texel April, 1601 [q].

Reasons which led the Dutch merchants to promote this new trade with such vehemence.

An ardour like this could not fail of producing prodigious effects, and of diffusing itself daily amongst all the traders that had taken shelter in the dominions of the States, and even of attracting others to come and settle there likewise. They foresaw that all the commerce which enriched Antwerp must necessarily retire by degrees, and that no places bid so fair to engage it as Amsterdam, and the rest of the Dutch cities, more especially now they had gained the great point, and opened themselves a direct passage to the Indies. They comprehended also how much farther this important trade might be improved in a free country, and under a mild government, than hitherto it had been under arbitrary monarchs, who valued it chiefly as furnishing the means of carrying their ambitious projects into execution, and grudged their subjects those little emoluments, which, with infinite toil and hazard, they procured by their own labour and industry. But what impelled them more than any other consideration, was their desire of having an early share in the Indian commerce, before the value of it was universally understood; and such numbers interested therein, as greatly to diminish the profits. Some or all these motives operated on not a few; and their example with still greater force on many more, which increased the adventurers continually. The Spaniards were enraged, partly from the affront in seeing such petty merchants, as they styled the Dutch, compass their ends in spite of their power, and partly upon account of the loss they had already sustained, and were likely to sustain hereafter [r]. To prevent which, they saw no better method than to employ a superior force to intercept their outward-bound fleets; with this view they equipped a strong squadron, to surprise the next Dutch ships that should be sent to the Indies. This squadron, consisting of thirty men of war well manned,

[q] Emanuel Meteren Histoire de Pays-bas, fo. 495. [r] Le Clerc Histoire des Provinces-unies, vol. i. p. 216.

fell in with eight of the Dutch ſhips in the month of May, in the latitude of 14 deg. The Dutch perceived the inequality of their number and forces, notwithſtanding that they had ſome ſoldiers aboard: however, they fought bravely; and the Spaniſh admiral was ſo warmly received, that he found it expedient to let them paſs [s].

Diſputes with the king of Achen, on the iſland of Sumatra, which at length are compromiſed.

In the courſe of the next year, which was 1602, three ſhips came from the Indies richly laden. They brought advice that the king of Achen had attempted to ſeize two of Moucheron's ſhips that ſailed from Holland in 1599; and that Cornelius Houtman, the commander, had loſt his life in the adventure; in which, however, the ſhips eſcaped, though ſome of the Dutch continued priſoners in the hands of that monarch [t]; but before this news arrived in Holland, Paul Van Caerden, having ſailed from the Indies that ſame year, arrived at the port of Achen, without knowing what had paſſed, and was expoſed to the like danger; for that king, being inſtigated by a Franciſcan monk, who reſided there in quality of the Portugueſe envoy, and had come from the Moluccas on purpoſe to cajole him, ſet all inſtruments at work to ſeize Caerden's ſhip [u]. But his attempts proved abortive; and the king being reconciled, owned afterwards that he was ſeduced by the Portugueſe, promiſing better uſage for the future. Accordingly he gave a very good reception to the fleet commanded by Laurence Bicker, which had been fitted out from Zealand in 1601; and when that fleet had taken in its loading, which was very conſiderable, he ſent ſome ambaſſadors on board it. This fleet, putting into St. Helena to take in freſh water, happened to meet with a Portugueſe carrack richly laden, which they took, and brought home with them. This ſame year alſo George Spilbergen, and the ſhips he commanded, arriving at Achen, were, by the ſame king, as favourably treated (E).

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[s] Avertiſſement à la Tête de Recueil des Voyages de la Compagnie, p. 31. [t] Grot. Annal lib. xi. [u] Voyages de la Compagnie des Indes Orientales, tom. iii. p. 194.

(E) Theſe facts are preciſely ſet down from the Dutch hiſtorians; but, however, it is neceſſary to remark, that as the Portugueſe, by their money and intrigues, prevailed upon the king of Achen, at Sumatra, to attempt ſeizing the Lion and Lioneſs, two ſhips belonging to the Zealand company, and to detain Cornelius Houtman, who commanded them, priſoner; ſo it was very unbecoming in another Dutch officer, who came thither with a ſuperior force, from

Methods practised by the Spaniards to prejudice the Dutch.

The Spaniards now finding themselves inferior in strength, endeavoured to ruin the Dutch by all manner of stratagems. They sent emissaries to all the Indian kings to decry the new adventurers, and to represent them as pirates, and men of no faith, whom therefore they ought to distrust and destroy. The States General and prince Maurice, having received advice of these intrigues, resolved, for the future, to give commissions to the captains of all ships that sailed to the Indies (and indeed the commanders of those ships stood in very great need of them) to refute the many calumnies of their enemies [w]. By these commissions they were impowered not only to defend themselves, but to attack all who should disturb their commerce. The valiant James Heemskirk being vested with this authority, sailed with two ships from Bantam, in order to load at Jahor, and falling in with a rich carrack, upon her return from Macao, with above seven hundred men on board, attacked, and forced the Portuguese, after a slender defence, to strike, and ask quarter, which was granted [x]. This was a thing of great importance in itself, and rendered of still greater consequence by the skill and address of the Dutch admiral, who not only treated his prisoners well, but sent most of them, except the captain and the chaplain, without ransom, to the Portuguese governor in the Indies, foreseeing that this would naturally produce a letter of thanks and acknowlegements to facilitate the deliverance of those two prisoners of rank. This expedient had its effect; admiral Heemskirk received a couple of letters filled with compliments, which he produced

[w] Sallengre Essai d'une Histoire des Provinces Unies, p. 67.
[x] Avertissement à la tête de Recuel des Voyages de la Compagnie, p. 33.

from the hopes of entering into trade with the subjects of that perfidious prince, to put that unfortunate person again into his hands, when he had once made his escape, and by whom, after the departure of those Dutch ships, he was, with several others, basely murdered (1). It must be allowed that admiral Spilbergen demanded ample satisfaction for this outrage; but it is no less true, that he was satisfied with fair words; and thus Cornelius Houtman lost his life unprotected and unrevenged, who first conducted the Dutch into the Indies, and whose last misfortune was entirely owing to an over-forward diligence in the service of his country (2).

(1) Voyages de la Compagnie des Indes Orientales, tom. iii. p. 177. (2) Grot. Annal. lib. xi.

in

in every port wherever he came, and thereby wiped off the aspersion of pirates, and men without humanity or honour. Besides, the cargo was immensely rich, consisting of the most valuable commodities from different parts of the Indies; and the papers on board gave them likewise more light into the nature of this commerce than they had hitherto received [y].

SECT. III.

The Causes which led the States to erect the present East India Company; the Terms of their Charter; the Methods taken by them to establish themselves in the Indies, and their Disputes with the Spaniards and Portuguese, who endeavoured to expel them.

Occasion on which the present East India company was erected by the States General.

BUT while they met with all this success in the Indies, their affairs at home were in great danger of taking a wrong turn, to which this success of their's did not a little contribute. In short, the spirit of sending ships to the Indies grew so strong, and prevailed so generally, that new companies were formed every day. This, at the beginning, had a very good effect, both in Holland and in the Indies, as it occasioned the building a great many large ships, employing a vast number of industrious people, raising and hiring great numbers of seamen, and keeping such a force in that part of the world as prevented the Spaniards and Portuguese from oppressing this trade in its infancy, as they would otherwise have done. In process of time, however, these new companies, having no right understanding, fitted out many ships for the same port, a circumstance which sunk the value of their goods, and produced other inconveniences [z]. The States General being informed of this, exhorted these companies to unite, and promised them a charter, or, as it is styled in Holland, an octroy. This was an affair of very great consequence, as well to the public as to the persons interested in the several companies; and therefore it took some time to settle matters, and bring them under a just regulation, which, however, was at length adjusted, to the general satisfaction of all concerned; and a charter granted for twenty-one years, to commence from the 20th of March,

[y] Grot. Annal. lib. xi.

[z] Sallengre Essai d'une Histoire des Provinces-unies, p. 69.

1602;

1602; the capital to consist of six millions six hundred thousand florins, divided proportionably amongst the several chambers; which was a provision invented to satisfy those interested in the private companies that were now dissolved [a]. The rest of the subjects of the United Provinces were forbidden to send ships to the Indies, either by the route of the Cape of Good Hope, or the streights of Magellan. The state had, by way of gratuity for this charter, twenty-five thousand florins in the new capital, and a duty of three per cent. upon all goods exported, bullion excepted; the number of directors, the method of managing, the times and places when and where general assemblies were to be held, the manner of making sales, and of stating general accounts, were all fixed in such methods as might best provide against frauds, and for the emolument of the proprietors; so that the capital was very soon full, and the spirit of adventuring rather increased than abated by this salutary establishment, which could not but give great pleasure to the States, more especially as they found that it attracted large sums of money, and brought many eminent merchants from the neighbouring countries to settle in their dominions [b].

The first grand fleet fitted out by the new company under admiral Wybrant van Waerwyk.

Upon this bottom the proprietors promised themselves still greater things than had been hitherto atchieved; and fitted out a fleet of fourteen large ships, which put to sea in June, 1602, under the command of admiral Wybrant van Waerwyk. The next year, in the month of February, the yacht Wachter returned, with advice that five of the other ships would very speedily arrive [c]. By this yacht an account was brought of what had passed before Bantam, between Wolphart Harmansz, and his vice-admiral Bouwer, on one side, and Don Andreas Furtado de Mendoza on the other, who had formed a design of no less consequence than to drive the Dutch out of the Indies [d]. In effect, Don Andreas was worsted, and the Dutch vessels pursued their course for the Moluccas, where they arrived at several times, one after the other. The same yacht brought the news of an engagement at the Moluccas, between admiral Van Neck and three Portuguese ships, not at all to his advantage; for after the loss of eight or nine men, and having some of the fingers of his own

[a] Grot. Annal. lib. xi. Groot Placaet Boek, tom. i. p. 529.
[b] Le Clerc Histoire des Provinces-unies, vol. i. p 221. [c] Advertissement à la Tête de Recueil des Voyages de la Compagnie, p. 37.
[d] Histoire de la Conquete des Isles Moluques, tom. iii. p. 49, 50.

right

right hand shot away, he was obliged to sheer off. Upon the arrival of this intelligence, another fleet of thirteen ships was diligently fitted out, which sailed December the 18th, under the command of Stephen Vander Hagen, to prevent this profitable correspondence from being interrupted or lost [e].

The Spanish court issue a new declaration.

In the year 1605, the king of Spain issued another rigorous declaration, in which he prohibited the inhabitants of the United Provinces from trading to the dominions of Spain, or to the East and West Indies, under pain of corporal punishment; but the company was so far from being dejected by this edict, that it rather inspired them with fresh courage, and animated them to pursue their design with more spirit and diligence. They presently equipped a fleet of eleven vessels, which were not only calculated for traffick, but for war, and gave the command of them to Cornelius Matelief. This fleet had scarce put to sea, when the directors gave orders for preparing another squadron of eight ships, which were manned not only with their full complement of seamen, but with soldiers, that were engaged to stay, and keep garrison in the Indies, if occasion required: this third squadron was commanded by Paul van Careden. Soon after two ships of the first of these three squadrons, came home, with a rich cargo of cloves and other spices. They brought advice, that admiral Vander Hagen would follow very quickly; and accordingly he arrived in July, after having taken several Spanish and Portuguese vessels, possessed himself of the fort of Amboyna, demolished that of Tydore, and, in a great measure, dislodged those two nations out of the Molucca islands [f]. This expedition gave rise to a dispute between the Dutch and the English, which last favoured the Spaniards, and, by supplying them with powder, enabled them to hold out longer. Next October three other vessels arrived in Holland, with intelligence that Wybrandt van Waerwyck, being homeward-bound, was obliged to put in at the island of Maurice, because his ship was leaky, and that he had taken a carrack at Patana. This admiral arrived in the spring of 1607; but, in the preceding winter, the company had sent two ships more, under the command of John Jansz Moldie, who soon reduced the fort of Tydore; the news of which gave the company, and indeed the whole Dutch

[e] Sallengre Essai d'une Histoire des Provinces-unies, p. 69.
[f] Voyages de la Compagnie des Indes Orientales, tom. v. p. 103.

nation,

nation, very high satisfaction; the monopoly of spices being an object they long had in view, and which they have at length compassed [g] (T).

Their prudent measures in the negociation for peace.

At this time a negociation was set on foot for concluding a peace between the republic and Spain, or, at least, a truce for a considerable number of years, which was become a thing equally necessary to both nations. Upon this occasion the East India company took a wise and vigorous step, equipping a fleet of thirteen large ships at once, under the command of admiral Verhoeven, that the world might take notice, the States did not mean to give up this trade. The Spanish ministers were, however, very warm upon this head; and sometimes went so far as to declare, that they could yield to nothing in this particular [h]. On the other hand, the company presented several memorials to the States General, setting forth what numbers of persons, of both sexes they employed and maintained; what immense sums had been brought in by their sales, and how fair a prospect they had of extending their commerce, and augmenting their profits; all which made such an impression on their High Mightinesses, that they promised never to abandon them. When, therefore, the negociation was in danger of breaking upon this single point, the States proposed, that one of these three expe-

[g] Sallengre Essai d'nne Histoire des Provinces unies, p. 71.
[h] Avertissement à la Tête de Recueil des Voyages de la Compagnie, p. 39.

(T) It was at this juncture that their affairs in the Indies were brought into a very critical situation, so that it seemed to depend upon a single action, whether they should be able to maintain themselves in the Indies, or not. While Cornelius Matelief besieged Malacca to no purpose, Don Pedro d'Acuna, in 1606, with a Spanish fleet from the Philippines, recovered the Moluccas. Which conquest, tho' it scarce lasted a year, gave occasion to Argensola's history; so much was that action esteemed and admired at Madrid. On the other hand, to so great a degree are the eyes of all mankind dazzled by success, that the Dutch affairs declining, the natives almost every where declared in favour of their old masters, and would have concurred very heartily in driving these new comers as suddenly out as they came in, if victory had not once more declared on their side, and thereby occasioned an alteration in the sentiments of the Indians in their favour (3).

(3) Conquesta de las Islas Malucas, lib. x.

dients

dients might be accepted; first, to allow of a free trade, in general terms, under which this should be comprehended; secondly, to permit it for a stated number of years certain; and lastly, to regulate things in Europe, and to leave matters beyond the tropic of Cancer to the decision of arms. The Spaniards finding from hence that nothing was to be done, consented to a truce, and agreed not to disturb the Dutch trade in the Indies with other nations; excluding them, however, from all the ports in their possession [i].

A new attempt for the discovery of the north-east passage.

In the mean time the company went on, sending every year fresh squadrons to the Indies; and before the news of the truce reached that part of the world, they had made themselves masters of the island of Machaian, aud had dispossessed the Spaniards of all the Molucca islands, except Ternate. Yet feeling some inconveniences from the great length of the voyage, they were still very desirous of finding some shorter passage to the Indies; with a view to which they contracted, in the year 1609, with a famous English pilot, Henry Hudson, who promised them great things in that respect; but performed nothing more than attempting a passage first by the north-east, and then by the north-west, in one voyage, without success in either [k]. This was the same person who, the year following, in the service of his own country, discovered that famous bay, which still bears his name; and in which, by the malice of some of his crew, he was exposed in an open boat, and was either swallowed by the waves, or perished by hunger.

Some alteration in the company's conduct in the management of their affairs in the Indies.

The victories obtained by the Dutch fleets, in the Indies, had already altered their dispositions, and taught them to exchange that modesty and moderation, which had so highly recommended them to the potentates of the East, for that haughty air and arbitrary temper, which had rendered the Portuguese insupportable. They had, at this time, fifty ships, of the burden of eight hundred tons or upwards, in this service, and were so secure of carrying all before them, that they gave out, the war would be carried on in that part of the world, whatever might be stipulated in Europe: but things suddenly changed. Don Juan de Sylva, the Spanish governor of the Philippines, being informed that a Dutch squadron, after having sunk a rich ship upon the coast of China, was cruising at some

[i] Negotiations de President Jeannin, p. 135. [k] Avertissement à la Tête de Recueil des Voyages de la Compagnie, p. 40.

distance

distance from Manilla, in hopes of intercepting the homeward-bound fleet from Japan, fitted out immediately what vessels were in his port, and having embarked the few regular troops under his command, sailed in quest of the Dutch squadron, which he attacked, and defeated; admiral Wittert, who commanded it, having his head shot off in the beginning of the action, in which three ships out of four were taken, with a considerable number of prisoners, and plunder to the value of two hundred thousand crowns[l].

Don Juan de Sylva recovers the Moluccas from the Dutch.

Don Juan resolved to push his success to the utmost, and immediately attacked the Moluccas, where he met likewise with the same good fortune. And now the Spaniards, in their turns, pretended, that the peace was not to be observed on the other side the line. However, when a Dutch squadron, of thirteen sail, commanded by admiral Peter Borth, arrived in those seas, things once more altered their aspect. The English also in Ternate, who had hitherto favoured the Spaniards, finding them very insolent, upon this favourable turn of fortune, quitted their party, and reconciled themselves to the Dutch[m]. An ambassy was also sent, in the name of the prince of Orange and the States, to the emperor of Japan, where, through the folly of the Spanish management, rather than any great wisdom in their own, they procured all their requests to be granted; when the Spanish ambassador was allowed an audience only to affront him, and was sent away without any answer given to the proposals made by him, as they were, to speak impartially, equally impertinent and unreasonable. Both parties being in this disposition, the reader will easily apprehend, that the truce was but ill observed on either side; the Dutch complaining of breach of faith in the Spaniards, and the Spaniards echoing the same complaint again the Dutch, with an equal degree of reason on both sides[n]; but it is now requisite to speak of their disputes with a third nation in the Indies.

[l] Argensola Conquista de las Islas Malucas, lib. xii. [m] Sallengre Essai d'une Histoire des Provinces-unies, p. 73. [n] Hist. de la Conquete des Isles Moluques, tom. iii. p. 152, 153.

SECT.

SECT. IV.

Project of establishing a South Sea Company, by Isaac le Maire, and his Associates; and how they came to fail. Disputes with the Natives, and with the English, in the Island of Java. The Dutch expelled from that Island.

George Spilbergen's voyage round the world, in the service of the Dutch East India company.

THE directors of the Dutch East India company having still very much at heart the making an effectual voyage through the streights of Magellan to the East Indies, they in the spring of the year 1614, granted a commission, for this purpose, to George Spilberg, or Spilbergen, a man of established reputation for his knowlege in maritime affairs; and ordered six ships to be equipped for that purpose; viz. the Great Sun, the Full Moon, the Huntsman, a yatcht called the Sea Mew, all four from Amsterdam; the Æolus, of Zealand; and the Morning Star, of Rotterdam. They were all equipped in the best manner possible; and the admiral had, in a great measure, the choice of his own officers; which, in long voyages, is a thing of the utmost consequence, in order to prevent unnecessary disputes [o]. The ships were ready a little after Midsummer; but, the admiral having declared his opinion, that they should, in case they sailed then, arrive at an improper season in the streights of Magellan, the directors thought proper to postpone the voyage till the month of August; and on the 8th, the fleet sailed out of the Texel, with a strong gale at south-east [p]. It was believed that the States General were also concerned in this expedition; the true design of which was, to examine, and, if a fair opportunity offered, to weaken, the strength of the Spaniards in the South Seas, and to make some trial of the advantages which many speculative people thought might result from taking this route to the East Indies. The fleet very happily passed the streights, engaged, defeated, and destroyed, the Spanish navy in the South Seas; and, after a short and prosperous navigation, arrived on the coasts of Java, after visiting and supplying the Dutch settlements in the Moluccas.

[o] Sallengre Essai d'une Histoire des Provinces-unies, p. 73.
[p] Voyages de la Compagnie des Indes Orientales, tom. viii. p. 1.

A very

A very little time after this fleet put to sea, a new project was formed in Holland, for supplanting, in some measure, the East India company; so at least, that company would have it understood, though the parties concerned affirmed the direct contrary. Isaac le Maire, a rich merchant, was the author of the project, and William Cornelison Schouten, an able and experienced seaman, who had made three voyages to the Indies, the person who undertook to carry it into execution. Their true design was to discover the unknown southern continent, and islands, by some other passage than that of the streights of Magellan; believing, that as those streights were named in the East India company's charter, so, if they could find another passage into, and out of, the South Seas, they should do an acceptable service to their country, without incurring any of the penalties threatened to such as should interfere with the trade granted to that company [q]. Several rich merchants joined with them in this enteprize; and two ships being fitted out, the command was given to Schouten, and the direction of the trade to James le Maire, a young man of great courage and capacity. They sailed from the Texel, June the 24th, 1615, passed through those streights between Cape Horn and States Island, which have since born the name of Le Maire; and, after making many important discoveries, agreeable to their own project, found themselves under a necessity of returning by the East Indies, where, putting into a port of the island of Java, their vessel was confiscated by the Dutch East India company, and both Schouten and Le Maire were sent home prisoners, on board of the fleet of George Spilbergen, in which passage James le Maire died [r].

The project of Isaac le Maire for erecting a South Sea company in Holland.

In the years 1618 and 1619, the company had very good fortune; for they received from the Indies, at several times, no fewer than ten ships, with rich cargoes, valued at six or seven millions. This new and extraordinary success inspired them with fresh courage, not only in resisting the attempts of the Spaniards, but in concerting their ruin, by way of reprisal; a design which was carried a great way, by the diligence and resolution of Laurence Reael, a very knowing and prudent man, who served nine years in the Indies, where the company ho-

q Voyages de la Compagnie des Indes Orientales, tom. viii. p. 115. r Sallengre Essai d'une Histoire des Provinces-unies, p. 74.

noured him with the most considerable post, and then he returned to Holland [s]. By this time, the abuses, and unwarrantable practices, relating to the sale of the company's stock, began to revive; upon which the States found themselves obliged to renew the placard of 1610, with a few amendments, suitable to the circumstances of the time, and the artifices, which, to elude former provisions, had been newly invented.

Their jars in the Indies with the servants of the English company, and consequences of these disputes.

It is easy to perceive, from these particulars, which are all taken from Dutch authors, that the company had all the favour and countenance shewn them, by the States General, that could be desired; so that whatever they asked was granted, whatever they called a grievance removed, and whatever narratives they published of their transactions in the Indies, were received, and insisted upon, as authentic; yet, from the time they became powerful in that part of the world, they had been continually picking quarrels with the English; notwithstanding the many obligations they owed them, and that the first pilots they carried out in these long voyages were of this nation [t]. The captains, and other servants, of the English company, employed their time chiefly in trade, and in procuring as quick ladings as might be for the ships of their masters; but the Dutch following the example of the Portuguese, took pains to erect, in the most convenient places, strong fortresses, well furnished with cannon, military stores, and competent garrisons [u]. As their power increased, their pride augmented; and they could not bear to see the English beloved by the natives, and trading with them, without making use of force; so that, prompted partly by avarice, partly by ambition, they often hindered, and sometimes oppressed them. The English company, as we have shewn in its proper place, applied to king James for redress; upon which two treaties were set on foot in Holland, for compromising these differences, but without success; and though, at length, in the year 1619, a treaty was concluded, by which the concerns both of the English and Dutch company were regulated, and certain measures agreed upon for preventing new disputes, yet this had very little effect. The Dutch, soon after, making them sensible of their superiority, treating their complaints with contempt, and aggravating the sufferings of the company's servants, by telling them, they had a better

[s] Sallengre Essai d'une Histoire des Provinces-unies, p. 75. [t] Harris's Voyages, vol. i. p. 37. [u] Conquête des Isles Moluques, tom. iii. p. 193.

in-

interest than they at the English court; and that, while they had plenty of money in Holland, they knew very well how to make, or purchase, friends in England [w].

When the Dutch first visited the coasts of Java, they found, on the north side, a commodious port, with a town adjacent, then called Kalappa, but, about the year 1607, the inhabitants changed that name for Jacatra. It was built, according to the manner of that country, with a pretty good wall, composed of rough, red, and durable stones, but indifferently put together; the houses were built with a sort of reeds, each surrounded with wooden pales. Though it was far from being large, or populous, yet it had a king, as well as the rest of the towns upon the coast. The palace of this monarch, none of the most splendid, and yet, the soil and climate considered, convenient enough, and not contemptible, was built of canes. His power was small, and his wealth not great; notwithstanding which, he endeavoured to make a figure in war, as well as trade. His maritime force consisted in four large gallies, in the bottom of which sat the rowers, and on the decks stood the soldiers; and as for his commerce, it consisted entirely in the sale of the little pepper his small territory produced [x]. The East-India company contracted with him for the whole; but, either finding him guilty, or suspecting him, of breach of faith, they thought proper to build a fort, to keep him in awe. This enterprise gave some umbrage to the English, who corresponded likewise with the people of Jacatra; and this jealousy between the two nations broke out, before it was long, into an open war [y]. Their fleets, to end the dispute, engaged, at a small distance from the port, and fought gallantly for several hours, till at length the Dutch, who, as they say, were much inferior in force, were thoroughly beaten, retired to Amboyna, in order to refit, and procure a reinforcement. Moved by this event, Vidark Rama, king of Jacatra, immediately renounced his treaty with the vanquished, and entered into a close and solemn alliance with the English; but our writers affirm, that he made a treaty with them long before that with the Dutch [z].

A succinct account of the city, on the ru of which Batavia was after wards founded.

At this time the Dutch had two fortresses in the neighbourhood of the town, one on the south side, called the Lodge of Nassau; the other on the north, which they

Upon the defeat of the Dutch by the English, the former retires to Amboyna.

[w] Histoire de la Conquete des Isles Moluques, tom. iii. p. 225.
[x] Neuville Hist. van Holl. 1 deel. p. 201.
[y] Histoire de la Conquete des Isles Moluques, tom. iii. p. 195.
[z] Purchas's Pilgrims, vol. i. p. 676.

called Fort Maurice, newly built, but not entirely finiſhed. Theſe were neither of them very ſtrong, and the latter had but ſeven pieces of cannon, with a garriſon of two hundred and forty men, fourſcore of which were Negroes. On the other hand, the town of Jacatra was well provided; and, upon an eminence in the middle of it, the Engliſh had a magazine, tolerably well fortified, with a conſiderable number of heavy cannon. Theſe they employed to fire upon the Dutch forts, and the natives followed their example [a]. The Dutch, looking upon theſe hoſtilities as a declaration of war, made a vigorous ſally, burnt the Chineſe quarter, made themſelves maſters of the Engliſh poſt, and blew up their magazine. The Engliſh fleet, under the command of Sir Thomas Dale, coming at this juncture, before Jacatra, John Peter Koen, the Dutch commodore, found it requiſite to put to ſea, with ſeven ſail of ſhips, which was all he had; whereas the Engliſh ſquadron was compoſed of eleven. They fired upon each other, on New-year's-day 1619; but the Dutch finding the diſpute a little unequal, retired to Amboyna, leaving the Engliſh in the port of Jacatra; where they were joined by ſeven ſhips more, and by a body of four thouſand auxiliaries from Bantam, which is but fifteen leagues diſtant [b].

The Dutch governor of Fort Maurice trepanned by the king of Jacatra, and made priſoner.

By this time, the Dutch fort Maurice was in a manner complete, with four good baſtions, well ſupplied with artillery; ſo that Peter Vanden Broecke, who commanded in the abſence of commodore Koen, though beſieged by land and ſea, thought himſelf in a condition to make a good reſiſtance. He began with thundering upon the town of Jacatra; which had ſo good an effect, that the king immediately deſired to treat; and at length agreed to pay eight thouſand patacons, in order to purchaſe peace. This being concluded, he prevailed upon the Dutch governor to pay him a viſit [c]. After a ſhort conference, he ſeized, and threw him into priſon, where he threatened him with death, if he did not order the fort to ſurrender. He went ſtill farther, he carried him, with a cord about his neck, under the walls of the Dutch fort, and bid him give his orders; which he did, to thoſe who were within hearing, to defend themſelves to the laſt man; upon which the king carried him to priſon. Sir Thomas Dale then en-

[a] Voyages de la Compagnie des Indes Orientales, tom. vii. p. 509.
[b] Neuville Hiſt. van Holl. 1 deel. p. 201. Voyages de la Compagnie des Indes Orientales, tom. vii. p. 541.

tered

tered into a treaty with the people of the fort; and they, being almoſt without powder, agreed upon a capitulation; by which the place, with the artillery and ammunition, was to be given up to the Engliſh, and all the merchandize and effects therein to the king of Jacatra [d]. But at the very inſtant that this ſhould have been carried into execution, a new and very unexpected ſcene opened, which entirely changed the face of affairs.

A Javaneſe general from Bantam comes to Jacatra, and depoſes the king, who flies.

The Dutch governor found means to ſend a meſſenger to Bantam; who repreſented to the governor of that place, how advantageous it might be to him, if he became his, inſtead of remaining priſoner to the king of Jacatra, or the Engliſh; that propoſition was accepted, as ſoon as made, and an officer, with two thouſand men, detached, to take Vanden Broecke out of the hands of king Rama. That officer coming to Jacatra, demanded audience of the king; when, without ceremony, he clapped a dagger to his throat, and bid him diveſt himſelf of all enſigns of royalty, if he deſired to eſcape with his life. The poor prince complied without heſitation, fled, with his family, into the heart of the country, and getting from thence on the other ſide of the iſland, earned his bread as well as he could, for many years after, in the humble condition of a fiſherman. The Bantameſe immediately quartered themſelves about Fort Maurice, to which Peter Vanden Broecke returned, and the war broke out afreſh; but, with the aſſiſtance of their new allies, the Dutch found themſelves in a condition to defend the fort, till they could be relieved. Vanden Broecke, before he went to Bantam, which he was obliged to do, in virtue of his promiſe, changed the name of the fortreſs to Batavia, which he inſcribed over the gate [e].

[d] Purchas's Pilgrims, vol. i. p. 656.

[e] Voyages de la Compagnie, tom. vii. p. 548.

SECT. V.

Their Affairs restored in Java. Foundation of the City of Batavia, which becomes the Capital of their Settlements. Cruel Usage of the English at Amboyna. Batavia twice besieged, and gallantly defended. Speedily repaired, vastly augmented, and rendered the fairest and strongest City in the Indies.

The Dutch affairs restored by John Peterson Koen, and Jacatra subverted and destroyed.

ON the 25th day of March, commodore Koen arrived in the road, with a fleet of seventeen sail, and a considerable body of troops on board. Next day, he landed twelve hundred men, took, ravaged, and entirely destroyed the town of Jacatra; and, at the same time, either disliking the liberty that Vanden Broecke had taken, or having already laid the plan of what he afterwards executed, he caused the word Batavia to be defaced. He next marched with all his forces to Bantam, and, as soon as he came before the place, signified to the governor, he expected that Peter Vanden Broecke, and seventy other prisoners, should be immediately set at liberty. The governor being in no condition to resist, thought it best to comply; and the Dutch commander, having done what he proposed, marched back again to Fort Maurice [f]. The English had, by this time, reimbarked their artillery, and sailed away; and peace being concluded between the two companies, was proclaimed on the 9th of June.

Immediately after which, the governor-general Koen lays out the new city of Batavia.

The next day, Koen ordered a new city to be laid out, comprehending both the forts Nassau and Maurice. The streets were drawn strait, and very spacious, with commodious canals of running water, planted with trees, the shade of which might be enjoyed by those who passed backwards and forwards in boats, which advantage was derived from two fine rivers, one running through the city, and the other encompassing its walls. A strong citadel, being a square regularly fortified, was erected on the east, and a fifth bastion added, to cover the bridge that leads into the city. The place itself also was quickly put into a state of security, and, by degrees, environed with a thick brick wall, defended by eighteen bastions, at proper distances. To this noble and commodious place, John Peterson Koen, by whose direction the foundations were laid, gave the

[f] Neuville Hist. Van Holl. 1 deel. p. 205.

name

name of Batavia, and declared it the capital of the Dutch ſettlements, though then very inconſiderable in point of ſtrength and beauty to what it now is, as thoſe ſettlements were in a manner nothing in compariſon of what they now are [g]. But his choice in this reſpect was ſo juſt, his plan ſo well contrived, and every thing throve ſo faſt under his care, that future governors have only executed his project, and carried as well the city of Batavia as the Dutch empire in the Indies, to that magnificence and extent, of which he ſeemed to have a previous conception. Thus, within the firſt term granted to the Eaſt India company, ſhe ſaw the outlines drawn of that greatneſs, which hath ſince aſtoniſhed both Aſia and Europe [h].

Policy of the Eaſt India company in Europe, as well as the Indies.

The news of this eſtabliſhment could not but be very welcome to thoſe who had the direction of the company's affairs in Holland, and were very deſirous that ſome acquiſitions might be made in the Indies, where they might raiſe magazines, keep up a conſtant military force, and the face of a regular civil government, without which they knew it was impoſſible they ſhould ſupplant the Portugueſe in thoſe parts, ſince they were well aſſured, that the luſtre of the viceroy's court, and the luxuries of the city of Goa, enchanted the Oriental nations, and kept them in a conſtant ſtate of dependence. They reſolved, therefore, to improve this circumſtance, and to raiſe Batavia to a degree of ſplendor and magnificence. But it was not only the Chineſe, the Japaneſe, and the Indians, they judged it neceſſary to amuſe; on the contrary, they found playing off the ſame ſcheme very requiſite at home. They had before cauſed an ambaſſador from the king of Siam to be introduced to the prince of Orange with great pomp and ceremony; and now they brought over five young princes, as they were ſtyled, to be educated in Holland; of theſe Don Andreas de Coſtano was the ſon of the king of Soyan, and Don Marcus of the king of Kielan, both in the iſland of Amboyna; though ſome writers, either through ignorance, or, which is much more propable, with a deſign of magnifying the power of the company at this juncture, thought fit to ſtyle theſe the ſons of the kings of Siam and Ceylon. The other three were perſons of leſs conſideration [i]. The two young princes brought each of them a letter from his father to prince Maurice, who received

[g] Relation de la Ville de Batavia, par Nicolas de Graaf.
[h] Hiſtoire Metallique des Pays Bays, par Gerard Vanloon, tom. ij. p. 204.
[i] Baudart, lib. xiii. p. 40.

them very graciously, and ordered due care to be taken of their education. This artful management had a double effect; for as it recommended the interests of the company very strongly to the prince, who, with many great virtues, had a tincture of vanity, so it served to confirm in the Indies the notion they had spread of a king of Holland; which was very requisite amongst nations who had very high sentiments of monarchy, and scarce any idea that there could be another sort of government. By these methods they obtained from the States General edict after edict in their favour, and all the advantages and assistance that they could desire [k].

By which they procure their charter to be renewed by the States General.

In the spring of the year 1622, two ships richly laden returned to Holland, with news that the war was still carried on in Java, as well as against the Spaniards in the Moluccas, and in the Manillas; and that the island of Banda was again recovered, which had been taken from them by the last mentioned nation; as also that the last fleet from Holland arrived there safely in four months and three days [l]. This favourable intelligence came very seasonably, as the company was now soliciting for a new charter. In this they met with some opposition; for, in the first place, the proprietors were dissatisfied, as apprehending they had not a full share of the profits; and, to still this clamour, the directors were obliged to make a dividend in cloves, of twenty-five per cent. On the other hand, there wanted not some who suggested, that the exclusive privilege they enjoyed was detrimental to the subjects of the republic in general; and that the commerce of the Indies would bring far more money into the United Provinces if it was laid open. In answer to this assertion, the friends of the company alleged, that it was not only a very imprudent, but a very dangerous thing, to put conjectures in balance with facts; that the company, in the space of twenty-one years, had divided four hundred and fifty per cent. upon their capital, which amounted to near thirty millions of florins, besides the immense sums they had laid out in building and equipping ships, military and naval stores, seamen and soldiers pay, merchandize which they exported, and other things almost beyond the reach of calculation [m]; to which if they had added a clear account of the company's stock, it would have done much

[k] Avertissement à la Tête de Recueil des Voyages de la Compagnie, p. 45.

[l] Emanuel Meteren Histoire de Pays-bas, lib. xxviii.

[m] Sallengre Essai d'une Histoire des Provinces-Unies, p. 75, 76.

credit

credit to their management; but this, for many reasons, it was thought prudent to conceal. However, upon these allegations, in consequence of their great credit with prince Maurice and the States, and respect being had to the war's breaking out again with Spain, their demand was complied with; and a new charter, dated December the 22d, 1622, was granted them for the farther term of twenty-one years, to commence from the first day of the succeeding year [n].

A short view of the bloody business of Amboyna, and proofs from Dutch writers.

By the next ships from the Indies they had a full account of what had been done at Amboyna, where, under pretence of a conspiracy against the Dutch government by Mr. Gabriel Towerson, and others, they seized, tortured, and put them to death; which rigorous and extraordinary proceeding was not at first openly divulged in Holland, where it was only said that there had been some commotions in Amboyna, which, by the vigilance and prudence of the governor, had been totally extinguished [o]: but when the whole affair began to take air, and make a noise in the world, they were forced to publish defences of their own conduct, in which they allege, that the conspiracy being deep and dangerous, the governor of Amboyna was obliged to take the most expeditious and effectual methods; and after examining and convicting the criminals, as well by their own confession as by witnesses, to proceed to execution: but it was impossible to justify this fact to impartial enquirers, or even to palliate it, since it was self-evident that the Dutch were very powerful in those parts, and the English very weak, so that there was no necessity for proceeding so hastily to the last extremities, and yet necessity was their only plea. It was inconsistent with the treaty concluded between the two companies, by which a joint council of defence was erected at Batavia, that ought to have had cognizance of this matter [p]. The same kind of arguments had been urged in support of former acts of violence; and yet, by the late treaty, they consented to pay a very large sum of money, which they never would have done in their own wrong; and after doing this, in so short a space as four years, to commit a new act of violence, far exceeding all that was past, and to avail themselves of that act to dispossess the English entirely of their trade in the spice islands, to which they had

[n] Leo Van Aitzema saken van staet en oorlogh, tom. i. p. 159.
[o] Histoire de la Conquete des Isles Moluques, tom. iii. p. 225.
[p] See the Reply of the East India Company to the Dutch Account of the Affair at Amboyna.

as good a title as the Dutch, and for their own enjoyment of which the Dutch stood indebted to them for their assistance, was contrary to the rules of natural equity, and to the law of nations [q]. But notwithstanding all this, what between the interest of the Prince of Orange at the English court, the friends made there by the Dutch East India company, and the influence the States General had over some, who at that juncture took upon themselves the title of patriots [r], this affair was for the present stifled, to the great dishonour of both nations, to the irreparable loss of the English East India company, and to the fatal overthrow of that sincere and cordial correspondence which had so long subsisted between the protestant and maritime powers.

The Nassau fleet sail first to the West, and then to the East Indies,

After long and mature deliberation, the States General determined to attempt another expedition into the South Seas by the streights of Le Maire, with an intention to make a settlement in Chili or Peru, or to strike such a blow as should spread terror and confusion through the whole extent of the Spanish dominions in America; after which their fleet might sail to the East Indies, and give such assistance to the company as the state of her affairs should demand. In order to execute these great views, the admiralties of Amsterdam, Zealand, Holland, and West Friezland, equipped a fleet of eleven sail of large ships, having upwards of one thousand mariners on board, besides six hundred regular troops, and carrying in the whole three hundred pieces of cannon [s]. To the large expences which such an armament demanded, the company liberally contributed, as did prince Maurice, who was the great patron of the expedition, in honour of whom this is generally styled the Nassau fleet [t]. April 29, 1623, this great force sailed under the command of James Le Hermite, entered the streights of Le Maire on the 2d of February following, and on the 10th of May came before the port of Lima, which they attacked, and did incredible mischief to the Spaniards, though without any advantage to themselves; and much the same fate attended the rest of their attempts in the South Seas, where their admiral died. These disappointments sharpened their resentments to such a degree, that upon the Spanish viceroy's refusing to ransom their prisoners, they made no scruple of hang-

[q] Harris Voyages, vol. i. p. 895. [r] Histoire de la Conquete des Isles Moluques, tom. iii. p. 238. [s] Neuville Hist van Hollande, 1 deel, lib. v. [t] Voyages de la Compagnie des Indes Orientales, tom. ix. p. 1,

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ing them up at the yard-arm, an action deſervedly condemned by all who mention it. They proceeded next to Acapulco; from whence, towards the cloſe of the year, they ſailed for the Eaſt Indies, where, upon their arrival, the fleet ſeparated, and did the company conſiderable ſervice; though taking it altogether, this buſineſs was very far from anſwering the great expectations which it had raiſed. By the help of ſo ſtrong a reinforcement the company's affairs were very much mended, the Portugueſe every-where diſtreſſed, and the communication between their colonies much interrupted; all which circumſtances had a ſtrong effect upon the minds of the Indian nations, and, as it was natural, taught them to ſlight the declining, and to court the riſing power [u].

Surpriſing ſucceſs of the company.

By theſe wiſe and prudent meaſures, and by the perpetual attention of their directors to whatever might conduce to the company's advantage, their commerce at this time flouriſhed ſo much, that they were obliged to enlarge the number of their ſhips every year; and the company being ſenſible their proſperity was chiefly owing to the good conduct of their admirals and commanders in chief, ſolicited John Paterſon Koen to make a ſecond voyage to the Indies in quality of governor-general: he accepted the commiſſion, and put to ſea in April, 1627, ſoon after the Rotterdam came home, and was followed by four other veſſels, under the command of John William Verſchoer. The rich cargo of theſe ſhips was ſcarce unloaded, when Adrian Block Martſen was ready to ſail with a ſquadron of eleven ſhips [w]. He put to ſea in October, and loſt two of his ſhips in a ſtorm, but ſaved the men and the cargoes. In the ſame month of October, John Karſtenſz of Embden brought with him ſafe into the Texel three ſhips laden at Surat: in his paſſage he had been obliged to put in at Portſmouth, where an embargo was laid upon his ſhips for ſome time. In June, 1628, five other ſhips came home under the ſieur Carpenter, who had been the company's general in the Indies; and the cargoes of theſe ſhips were as valuable as the former. Notwithſtanding theſe lucky adventures, the company were perplexed by ſome croſs accidents, which were very detrimental to their affairs, occaſioned by ſeveral political diſputes in which the Republic was engaged [x].

[u] Avertiſſement des Voyages de la Compagnie, p. 48. [w] Le Clerc, Hiſtoire des Provinces-unies, tom. ii. p. 97. [x] Avertiſſement à la Tête de Recueil des Voyages de la Compagnie, p. 50.

The

Measures pursued to protect the homeward bound squadrons.

The English stopped their ships as often as they thought proper, and the Dunkirk privateers never failed to give them chace. These hostilities obliged them to resolve upon fitting out a strong squadron every year, which was employed in the German Ocean, to cruise for their homeward-bound ships, and conduct them safe to their ports. The first squadron thus stationed was commanded by John Dierksz Lam; and upon his approach the Dunkirk privateers retired. Soon after a squadron of eleven ships sailed for India in October, under the command of James Specks, accompanied by John Valbeck, a famous mathematician. On the other hand, the company had by the Viana the unwelcome news that they sailed from Batavia the foregoing January, in hopes to pass the streight of Baly in time; but being disappointed, they ran ashore in the latitude of 21 deg. upon the south-side of the Terra Australis, and were obliged to throw over-board a great quantity of their rich effects, and so got afloat again, yet not without great difficulty and danger. In their passage they fell in with Block's squadron, which had likewise met with very stormy weather. By this ship they had notice, that the people of Java had formed a conspiracy to assassinate John Paterson Koen, which was discovered by a poor Chinese boy, and thereby the execution of that detestable design was entirely defeated [y].

Account of the discoveries made in the southern continent, and by whom.

It was within this period that most of those great discoveries were made by the Dutch officers on the southern continent, which are depicted in the stadt-house of Amsterdam. The large country of Carpentaria, now better known by the name of New Holland, was so called from general Carpenter, who discovered it in 1628. The western part of the same country, which lies to the south of Java, was discovered the same year, and from the name of the commodore was styled De Witt's Land: but all the southern coast lying towards that sea which separates this continent from that close to the south pole, was discovered in January, 1627, by Peter de Nuyts, of whom we shall have occasion to speak at large, and who had thereby an opportunity of bestowing his name on one of the finest countries in the world [z]. All these discoveries, together with a just report of their affairs, the company received from general Carpenter; and upon his return it was that the directors resolved to send a squadron of eleven sail in-

[y] Avertissement à la Tête de Recueil des Voyages de la Compagnie, p. 50. [z] Neiuville Hist. van Hollande, 1 deel. liv. vi.

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to those parts, under the command of commodore Francis Pelsart [a]. It may not be amiss to observe, that while the company was doing all these great things, their own country was torn with civil dissensions; so that if the trade of the Indies had not been under a direction distinct from that of the civil government, it is simply impossible that they should have succeeded as they did, or brought such advantage to the Dutch nation, at least so their directors insinuated when a renewal of their charter came to be solicited.

Batavia twice besieged by the emperor of Java, and gallantly defended by general Koen.

Yet we are now advanced to a point of time, when, if there had been a force sufficient in the island of Java, the Dutch power would have met with a severe shock. This was owing to the envy and resentment of the emperor of that island, who with indefatigable pains drew together an army of two hundred thousand men, which, under the command of one of the principal lords of his court, he sent to invest Batavia. This siege, or rather blockade, continued some months; and though the Javanese actually discovered great resolution, and exposed themselves as much as their officers could desire, yet it was to no purpose, for the Dutch works were too strong for them to make any impression upon; so that after the loss of a vast number of men, they were obliged to retire [b]. The prince of Madura, which is a small island at a very little distance from Java, suggested to the emperor, that this disappointment must be owing to the bad behaviour of his general, who with a third less force might have easily reduced that place, if he had been a man of capacity. The emperor resolving to put that affair to the trial, raised a fresh army of one hundred and fifty thousand men, of which he gave the prince of Madura the command, notwithstanding he went in person to the siege. They came before the citadel of Batavia, August the 22d, 1629, and in the space of a month made several assaults, that served only to diminish their own forces, of which they lost so many, that their bodies choaked up and corrupted the river, and the stench spread an epidemic disease through the camp, and in the place. At length finding his army almost dwindled to nothing in comparison of what it was, the emperor having first massacred the prince of Madura, and about eight hundred of his men, raised the siege on the 2d of October, with much greater loss both in respect to honour, and of

[a] Harris Voyages, vol. i. p. 320.

[b] Neuville Hist. van Hollande, 1 deel. liv. vii.

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his troops, than he had sustained in the former [c]. It was towards the close of this siege that the governor-general John Peterson Koen, who with great courage and conduct had defended the place, ended his life, and was interred with the greatest solemnity. James Specks was appointed provisionally governor, who caused the river and canals to be cleansed, and in a surprising short space of time restored every thing to its original condition, by which he did the company good service, and highly raised his own reputation.

SECT. VI.

The Intercourse and Disputes of the Dutch with the Japanese, to whom they are constrained to deliver up Peter Nuyts, their Governor at Formosa: unexpected good Consequences of this Act of Submission, which enabled them to fix their Commerce with that Nation.

Some account of the state of their trade in the Red Sea, and the empire of Japan.

IN the year 1630, Peter Vander Broecke, who had been long in India, and was the first who carried the Dutch vessels into the Red Sea, and the adjacent countries, returned home. He sailed with seven ships, the cargoes of which were valued at eight millions, yet he brought home but six, one being lost by fire under the Açores islands, and the other straggled from the fleet; however, the last went round by Ireland, and at length came home safe. Broecke acquainted the company, that General Koen died suddenly two days before the arrival of James Specks, who acted as general by way of provision. Anthony Van Diemen returned in the year 1631, with seven vessels, which brought the company incredible treasures [d]. These mighty advantages enabled them to prosecute their designs to their utmost extent, to enlarge their commerce in the Indies by every method possible, sometimes making use of force, and sometimes of fair means, to compass their ends, and to secure to themselves the largest share of trade, which, by experience, they found of such wonderful concern. They began likewise to entertain some hopes of ingrossing entirely the lucrative trade of Japan, a notion which they had conceived from their first entrance into that empire, and with a view to which they had from

[c] Voyage de la Compagnie des Indes Orientales, tom. ix. p. 139.
[d] Avertissement à la Tête de Recueil de Voyage des la Compagnie, p 53.

time

time to time taken several steps to ingratiate themselves at the court of the emperor, and to persuade his ministers that they were an humble, peaceable, well-disposed people, who had nothing in view but disposing of their goods and manufactures, and who thought themselves obliged in gratitude to promote the welfare and prosperity of a country, where they had been so kindly received, and so well entertained; and for the government of which, on that account, they had the highest veneration and esteem. Professions which were so well received, that when the Portuguese were shut up in that little island which the Dutch now inhabit, this last nation had the port of Firando given them, and were treated with very particular marks of confidence and favour, which induced them to have a good opinion of their own negociations [d].

Peter Nuyts appointed ambassador to the court of Japan, and afterwards governor of Formosa.

Before we leave this place, it is necessary to give the reader an account of a very extraordinary transaction which happened at this time between the Japonese and the Dutch, which, from its importance, from the extraordinary circumstances that attend it, and more especially as it affords us the best picture possible of both nations, claims a part in this history. Mr. Peter Nuyts, who arrived in Batavia from Holland in 1627, was appointed the same year, by the governor and council of Batavia, ambassador to the emperor of Japan [e]. He repaired to that empire in 1628; and, being a man of a haughty disposition, and extremely vain, he believed it practicable to pass upon the natives for an ambassador from the king of Holland. Upon his assuming this title he was much more honourably received, caressed, and respected, than former ministers had been. But he was soon detected, reprimanded, and reproached in the severest manner, sent back to the port, and ordered to return to Batavia with all the circumstances of disgrace imaginable [f]; notwithstanding which, his interest was so great, that, instead of being punished as he deserved, he was immediately afterwards promoted to the government of the island of Formosa, of which he took possession the year following [g].

Causes two large vessels to be seized in the port of that island, belonging to the Japanese.

He entered upon the administration of affairs in that island with the same disposition that he had shewn while ambassador, and with the most implacable resentment against the Japanese; neither was it long before an oppor-

[d] P. Charlevoix Histoire du Japon, tom. ii. p. 326. [e] Voyages de Chardin, tom iii. p. 229. [f] P. Charlvoix Histoire de Japon, tom. ii. p. 361. [g] Recueil de Voyages au Nord, tom. iii. p. 224.

tunity

tunity offered, as he thought, of revenging himself to the full. Two large Japanese ships, with upwards of five hundred men on board, came into the port; upon which he took it into his head to disarm and unrig them, in the same manner as the Dutch vessels are treated at Japan. The Japanese did all they could to defend themselves from this ill usage; but at last, for want of water, they were forced to submit. Governor Nuyts went still farther. When they had finished their affairs at Formosa, and were desirous of proceeding, according to their instructions, to China, he put them off with fair words, and fine promises, till the monsoon was over. They began then to be very impatient, and desired to have their cannon and sails restored, that they might return home; but the governor had recourse to new artifices, and, by a series of false promises, endeavoured to hinder them from making use of the season proper for that voyage [h].

The Japanese resolve to lay hands on the governor in his palace.

At length, perceiving plainly his purpose, and more exasperated at the affront offered their country than by the injury done to themselves, they resolved to risque all, and, by one bold attempt, either break through their captivity, or perish with honour. As no nation in the world possesses either a more active or a more determined courage than the Japanese, so they concerted this enterprise as coolly as they executed it with spirit. They sent nine of the most considerable amongst them, with a reasonable number of attendants, to expostulate with the governor at his palace; and, having agreed upon the proper signals they were to make, divided the rest of their crew into several detachments, which moved at a certain distance, so as to come up in due time. Those who went to the palace made use of fair means at first; but finding these utterly ineffectual, they seized the person of the governor, that of his son, and one of his counsellors, and then, making their signals, their several parties stormed the house, and massacred every creature that was in it. The garrison in the citadel, as soon as they were informed of what had happened, brought their artillery to bear upon the palace; which they might have easily beat to the ground, if the Japanese had not compelled the governor to give his orders to desist from firing, which, out of respect to his danger, were obeyed [i].

[h] P. Charlvoix, tom. ii. p. 362.

[i] Recueil des Voyages au Nord, tom. iii. p. 231, 232.

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This transaction happened in the month of July, 1630. The Dutch were very pressing to have the affair accommodated; but the Japanese were in no such haste. They fortified themselves in the palace; and next morning produced a treaty to the governor, and the counsellor, consisting of a few articles for securing their liberty, free departure, and indemnity; which they told them they must sign, if they expected to live; an argument of so much weight, that they subscribed without loss of time. They told the Japanese, however, that this treaty would be of no use if it was not approved by the whole council, which, at his request, they permitted the governor to summon; and the members, considering that this affair might possibly prove the loss of that lucrative commerce which the company enjoyed with Japan, ratified the treaty, abject and scandalous as it was, when they found it impossible to engage the Japanese to vary so much as a single letter [k] (U). Yet they wanted not strength to have cut off these people to a single man, as they had six hundred regular troops in the citadel and forts, and seven ships in the harbour [l].

Force him and one of his council to sign a treaty, which afterwards is ratified by the whole council.

[k] Chardin Voyages, tom. iii. p. 231.
[l] P. Charlevoix Histoire du Japon, tom. ii. p. 365.

(D) This treaty which they obliged the governor and council to sign, was to the following effect: I. They acknowledged the whole enterprize to be just, lawful, and necessary, for the preservation of those concerned, and for vindicating the honour of the Japanese. II. That they should be at liberty to return to Japan when they thought fit; and that every thing should be restored that had been taken out of their ships. III. That, to prevent the Dutch ships from following, insulting, or bringing them back, they should bring on shore their rudders and sails the evening before their departure, which they fixed for the first of August. IV. That, for their farther security, and that they might with safety release their prisoners, they should receive as hostages five of the principal Dutch inhabitants in the island. V. That as the usage they had met with was unjustifiable and inexcusable, and by which they had lost the opportunity of receiving twenty-five thousand pounds weight of silk, which they had bought and paid for, they should receive the like quantity out of the company's warehouse, of whatever kind they thought fit to chuse. By this last article they indemnified themselves for the expences of the voyage; but at the same time they delivered the company's officers the Chinese merchants receipts, that they might be able to recover the like quantity the next year from their correspondents.

On the arrival of these vessels in Japan, the Dutch effects and factory are seized.

According to the terms stipulated, five of the principal inhabitants of the island were delivered to the Japanese for hostages, with five thousand pounds weight of silk, the rudders and sails of the Dutch ships brought on shore, the Japanese vessels put in a condition of sailing, victualled, and supplied with all necessaries. These articles being executed, the Japanese set the governor, the counsellor, and the boy, at liberty, marched out of the palace, embarked, weighed anchor, and prosecuted their voyage happily to Japan. Immediately after their arrival they gave notice to the court of all that had happened; upon which all the Dutch effects were immediately seized, and the guards about their factory doubled, but without giving them the least notice of the cause, or doing the smallest injury to their persons. On the contrary, they were furnished more plentifully, used with more civility, and treated with greater respect than ever. The Dutch chief and factory were notwithstanding in the utmost consternation, presenting memorial after memorial, to know their offence; to which they were sometimes answered, that the council had affairs of great importance upon their hands; at others, that the emperor was ill, and they must have patience [m].

Peter Nuyts first confined at Batavia and afterwards delivered up to the Japanese.

By the help of the Portuguese and Chinese ships they sent advice to Batavia of their strange situation, which alarmed the governor-general Spex and his council exceedingly, who at first knew not what to do, nor how to proceed. At length they resolved to send a ship, in the name of a merchant of Batavia, with a cargo, in order to see what this would produce. The ship arriving, petitioned, in the merchant's name, for leave to sell their goods; which they were allowed to do with all the kindness imaginable, permitted to embark the produce of their goods, and to return, but not a jot wiser than they came [n]. The governor-general in the mean time had been informed of what passed at Formosa, and had sent for Peter Nuyts, then a prisoner, which hitherto had been all his punishment. Three years ran on in this manner, when Anthony Van Diemen, becoming governor-general, assembled the council; and prevailed upon them to take the only step that was left, which was, to deliver up Peter Nuyts to the Japanese, to do with him what they pleased. This sentence being notified to the prisoner, he behaved like a man

[m] Voyages de Chardin, tom. iii. p. 233.

[n] P. Charlevoix Histoire du Japon, tom. ii. p. 367.

distracted;

distracted; he protested against this judgment, he appealed to the people, he desired to be tried there, and to suffer any kind of death. But it was all in vain; the council were deaf, the people said it was his own fault; in short, a new fleet was equipped in 1634, and Peter Nuyts sent aboard it, with instructions to the chief to deliver him up as soon as he should arrive [o].

Proceedings of the court of Japan after the delivering up of Peter Nuyts.

On the arrival of the vessel at Firando the chief and his council, who had by this time procured from the court the cause of the interruption of their commerce, presented a fresh memorial, setting forth, that the person who had offended his imperial majesty was put into the hands of his officers; and therefore desired that they might be restored to his favour, and to their privileges of course. In consequence of this intimation, commissaries were speedily dispatched to Firando, carrying with them some of the persons who were in the ship detained at Formosa, that they might see whether this man was the governor Peter Nuyts, or not. These people having certified that it was the governor, the commissioners received fresh instructions, by which they were directed to require from the Dutch factory an answer to the following questions: first, whether the governor came of his own accord, or whether he was sent by the governor-general at Batavia [p]? Secondly, if Peter Nuyts came of his own accord, whether he intended to justify his own conduct, to charge the Japanese with any misbehaviour, and to bring the affair to a clear and open trial; or simply to confess his fault, to testify his repentance, and to implore the emperor's pardon? Lastly, if the chief and his council were content that the criminal should be broiled alive upon the coals, or nailed to a cross, if such should prove the sentence of the emperor and his council? To these questions they were to answer plainly, and without reserve, and within the compass of three days. The Japanese commissaries left them, during that space, free liberty to confer amongst themselves, to send whom they pleased to Peter Nuyts; and to take any other steps that they thought convenient, in order to give that satisfaction upon which the government insisted [q].

The chief and his factory, after mature deliberation, resolved to stick precisely to the form prescribed by the

[o] Recueil de Voyage au Nord, tom. iii. p. 239. [p] Voyages de Chardin, tom. iii. p. 236. [q] P. Charlevoix Histoire du Japon, tom. ii. p. 369.

Manner in which the Dutch chief delivered up Peter Nuyts to the Japanese.

governor-general and council at Batavia, notwithstanding they had received permission to make whatever alterations they should think necessary at the time of their delivering him up; but as they saw no alteration of circumstances that required any such change, and as the prescribed form seemed more suitable than any they could devise, they stuck to it closely. The substance of this form was, that the person now delivered up, Peter Nuyts, was the very person who, five years before, being governor of Formosa, had incurred the displeasure of the emperor, to whom the general sent him to suffer whatever punishment he thought fit; that however the Dutch were fully persuaded of the equity of his imperial majesty, even in the exercise of justice; that he was far from adjudging people to sufferings without a thorough enquiry into the cause, so far from it, that out of his natural clemency, he pardoned faults in his own subjects, whence they presumed to hope his indulgence towards a stranger, whose crime was in some measure qualified through ignorance, and who had no intention to give the least offence to his imperial majesty; that, in this disposition, they delivered the prisoner, desiring, that whatever became of the guilty, the innocent might no longer suffer, but that such as had been already detained five years, might have leave to depart, together with the company's vessels and effects. The commissaries having received the prisoner and this answer, set out for the court[r].

The court of Japan satisfied with this submission.

The leaving Peter Nuyts to the emperor's discretion put an end to this affair, and gave the Japanese court entire satisfaction. The factory was immediately set at liberty, the emperor's seal upon their effects was removed, the guard upon their ships withdrawn, and the prohibition of commerce recalled. As for Peter Nuyts, after remaining a few days in prison, he was put under what the Japanese call a free custody, that is, he had a few guards, with whom he might go where he pleased, visit whom he pleased, and do what he pleased, provided he remained in their presence; and this without being put to any expence, farther than he might be inclined to from their civility. He was therefore, from this time, secure from the fear of broiling or crucifixion, and had nothing farther to apprehend than passing the remainder of his days in Japan, in no very uneasy situation, being every where very well received, and, upon the whole, very

[r] Recueil de Voyage au Nord, tom. iii. p. 242, 243.

kindly

kindly treated. He bore this confinement very patiently, as being infinitely better than he could expect, and looked on himself as a prisoner for life [s].

Nine of their ships arrive at once at Batavia.

The governor-general and council at Batavia were inexpressibly pleased at seeing their nine ships arrive safe from Japan, with all their people on board, even the five hostages from Formosa, and an immense cargo, which, from being so long detained, came to a much better market; and, what was still more grateful, bringing also advice that the Japanese government was thoroughly pacified with respect to the company, the nation, and even to the author of all this disturbance. As the company send annually presents to the emperor of Japan, so they very prudently resolved, that those sent the next year should be richer than ordinary, the better to express the sense the company had of this favour: but, however, it is very certain, that this was their general intention, and that they had not at all in view that favourable circumstance which afterwards happened, and towards which indeed it was impossible, in the nature of things, they could have any foresight [t].

A lucky incident opens a passage for Peter Nuyts to merit his enlargement.

Amongst these presents there was a chandelier of brass, of thirty branches, fourteen feet high, and exquisitely wrought; it so fell out, that this came just as they were about to solemnize at court the funeral of the emperor's father, for which prodigious preparations had been made; notwithstanding which the lustre of the ceremony was greatly heightened by the happy effect which this chandelier had, when hung over the funeral trophy. His imperial majesty was prodigiously struck with it; he declared he had never seen any thing like it; asked from whence it came, and for what purpose it was intended? A minister of his who had taken the Dutch under his protection, answered of his own accord, and without the least instruction from them, that it was sent by the Dutch, on purpose to add to the magnificence of this ceremony, for which they were informed his imperial majesty was preparing. The emperor immediately added, "Have they any request? Is there any thing they want? Can I do any thing to oblige them?" Nothing (replied his minister), unless your majesty would have the goodness to set at liberty a Dutch governor who is imprisoned here, not for any offence against your majesty's laws, but for an invo-

[s] Voyages de Chardin, tom. iii. p. 235. [t] P. Charlevoix Histoire du Japon, tom. ii. p. 369.

luntary breach of the customs of Japan, with which he was not well acquainted." The emperor caused him to be set at liberty that moment, and gave the company, besides, a very considerable sum in silver, as a mark of that kindness with which he received their present; and farther permitted some valuable indulgences in the sending abroad commodities for that year [u].

Some political maxims of great consequence, which the Dutch deduced from this transaction.

When, after his release, Peter Nuyts came down to the factory in order to prepare for his return to Batavia, the Dutch who were there, could not help expressing their amazement; and the rather, because they knew that, according to the laws of Japan, a prisoner of state must be at least nine years in custody before any of the ministers dare intercede for him, and therefore they had not so much as flattered themselves with the hopes of procuring this gentleman's release, who had not been in Japan above two. His arrival was no less welcome at Batavia, where having, in a great measure, forgot his offence, and the troubles which it had occasioned, they long before began to regret his misfortune; and the rather, because they looked upon him as a man cut off from his country and relations, and who ought to esteem it a favour that he was suffered to wear out the remainder of his life in exile and imprisonment. The company, however, from this tedious transaction, adopted two maxims with respect to their conduct towards the Japanese, which no doubt have gone a great way in protecting them from accidents of the like kind ever since. The first is, that it is a good thing to have a friend at court, and therefore they never fail to have at least one of the Japanese ministers entirely in their interest; an aim which they accomplish by an assiduous application, by a studious compliance with his desires, and a constant intercourse of presents, by which, however, they are no losers; for, exclusive of the benefits they receive from his interest, they seldom fail of meeting with such returns, in things little regarded by him, and yet highly valuable to them, that more than compensates the value of their presents. The other is to proceed frankly with the court upon any dispute, and to give immediately such satisfaction as is required; for the Japanese are a people of such address, of so lofty a temper, and so jealous in point of honour, that there is no way of overcoming their distaste but by a quick and profound submission; a doctrine, which, as they have first learned,

[u] Recueil Voyage au Nord, tom. iii. p. 25.

so has it been confirmed to them by long experience, neither is it very probable that they will ever venture to deviate from it again [u].

We see from hence the true source of that superiority with which the Japanese act towards this nation upon all occasions. They are perfectly sensible of the advantages drawn from that limited commerce which is still permitted, and which therefore they keep entirely in their own power. They have a just conception of the dangers to which their constitution must be inevitably exposed by a conflux of strangers to the ports of Japan; and therefore they admit none but such as they can entirely control, or such as they absolutely despise, keeping their own subjects, at the same time, under so strict a discipline, as scarce leaves them a shadow of an apprehension of any new revolution [w].

SECT. VII.

The Company, on paying a large Fine, are indulged in a third Charter; act with great Address in the Indies; terminate their Quarrels with the English by a Treaty with the Commonwealth, and apply themselves to overturn the Portuguese in all their Settlements.

IF we may believe what most writers say, and indeed what some of the Dutch writers themselves confess, there was a great deal of policy practised in the management of their affairs throughout the Indies; for, by interfering in all their little quarrels, whether foreign or domestic, and furnishing them with assistance, sometimes against their more potent neighbours, and at others against their subjects, when they had driven them into rebellion by oppression and ill usage, they screwed themselves into the favour of the Indian princes; obtained liberties, first to establish factories, and then forts; after which permission they seldom made any more requests, but on the contrary gave laws; and those monarchs whom they had before honoured with high titles, and much of that servile submission which is the common language in all oriental courts, found, to their cost, that their old friends were

The dextrous management of the Dutch East India company.

[u] P. Charlevoix Histoire du Japon, tom. ii. p. 371. [w] Voyage de la Compagnie des Indes Orientales, tom. x. p. 29.

become their new masters [x]. This arrogance indeed was sometimes resented, and no endeavours were spared to shake off the yoke; which, however, was very seldom to any purpose, for the company had such a superiority of power in respect to any of these princes, taken singly, and were so well skilled in the arts of dissolving and breaking alliances to pieces, that in the end they were always gainers by such disputes, though, for a time, perhaps, their trade was interrupted, and they were put to the expence and trouble of a war [y]. In excuse of these proceedings the company would sometimes plead, that it was only deceiving the deceivers; and that without the help of these arts, it was simply impossible to manage their concerns, or to maintain their power, most of the Indian kings being equally cunning and faithless, and never letting slip any opportunity of gratifying their ambition or their avarice, though at the expence of treaties which they had themselves proposed, and of the most solemn alliances.

The company obtain, but in consideration of a large fine, a third charter.

As the company's charter drew towards an end, they did not fail to adduce to the States General such arguments as they thought most likely to procure them another; and, as the directors of the company had a great interest, and some points of real merit to allege, such as assisting the public with money in its greatest exigencies, and supplying large quantities of salt-petre gratis for making gunpowder during the course of the war, their propositions met with attention and approbation [z]. At the same time, however, they were given to understand, that the States were very sensible of the value of what they asked, and that therefore they were not to expect the lease of their exclusive commerce for a new term without advancing a considerable sum by way of fine, which, after mature deliberation, was fixed at one million six hundred thousand florins; in consideration of which present, their charter was renewed for twenty-one years, in 1644 [a].

Advantages which, from the situation of things, they had over the Portuguese.

It might have been expected that the defection of Portugal from Spain, and the setting up the duke of Bragança for king, by the name of John the Fourth, would have given a check to the Dutch conquests in the East Indies,

[x] Tavernier Voyage des Indies, p. ii. liv. iii. chap. 20. [y] Histoire de la Conquete des Isles Moluques, tom. iii. p. 349. [z] Dictionaire de Commerce, tom. ii. col. 1091. [a] Le Clerc Histoire des Provinces-unies, tom. ii. p. 231.

inasmuch

inaſmuch as they had no quarrel with the Portugueſe, independent of their being ſubjects of his Catholic majeſty; and, on the contrary, had great reaſon to acknowlege and aſſiſt the new king of Portugal, as the ſituation of his European dominions rendered him a natural and neceſſary ally. Yet it happened otherwiſe; for though, ſoon after his ſucceſſion, he ſent Don Triſtan de Mendoza Hurtado to the Hague, where he was owned by, and treated with the States, who, after a pretty long negociation, at length concluded with him a truce for ten years, during which both parties were to keep what they poſſeſſed in the Eaſt Indies and in the Weſt, this had very little effect [b]; for, under pretence that in Brazil this truce was not well obſerved by the Portugueſe, and that in the iſland of Ceylon the ſpirit of it was not ſtrictly complied with, the Dutch Eaſt India Company proceeded in augmenting their dominions. The opportunity, it muſt be owned, was very inviting; for as, under the Spaniſh government, the Portugueſe ſettlements were but very ill provided, ſo, upon returning to the duty they owed to their natural prince, they not only loſt the aſſiſtance which ſometimes they received from the Spaniards, but had them alſo for their enemies. In ſo diſtreſſed a ſituation they could have little hopes of relief from home, where the king was obliged to employ his whole force in the defence of that crown which he had aſſumed; no wonder, therefore, if the Dutch Eaſt India company, who knew all theſe particulars perfectly well, and their own great ſuperiority alſo, made uſe of the occaſion to aggrandize themſelves, taking care at the ſame time to give the beſt colour they could to thoſe actions which flowed, at the bottom, only from their avarice and ambition [c]. In a few years, peace was made with Spain, in which ſuch care was taken of the company's concerns, that they obtained, ſo far as that peace could give, as good a title to their poſſeſſions as the States themſelves had to their independence and freedom [d].

In what manner diſputes were terminated between the company and the commonwealth of England.

But it was not the Portugueſe only who ſuffered in this juncture; it was no leſs unfortunate for the Engliſh. The civil war gave a fatal blow to their commercial intereſts in the Indies, which their neighbours did not fail to improve, by taking their ſhips upon frivolous pretences, and by plun-

[b] Hiſtoire Generale de Portugal, tom. vii. p. 117. [c] Neuville Hiſt. Van Holl. 1 deel, lib. xi. [d] Le Clerc Hiſtoire des Provinces-unies, tom. ii. p. 458.

dering

dering their factories under colour of their being at war with those in whose dominions they were settled. This is a point necessary to be touched on here, as it shews what a series of lucky circumstances concurred to give the Dutch East India company room to spread her power and influence in so sudden and surprising a manner. But to examine these matters more minutely belongs to another part of our work; and therefore we shall content ourselves with adding here, that on the treaty between the protector Oliver and the States General, there was a commission settled for hearing and determining the disputes between the two East India companies, when, on the part of the English, there was brought in a long enumeration of their losses, to the amount, in the whole, of near two millions seven hundred thousand pounds [e]. The Dutch, on their side also, brought in a long account, which they swelled to an immense sum; however, the arbitrators on both sides, by their final determination, dated August the 30th, 1654, awarded the sum of eighty-five thousand pounds to be paid to the English company, in full satisfaction for their losses; and the farther sum of three thousand six hundred fifteen pounds to be paid, in the proportions specified in that public act, to the representatives of the persons that were murdered, thirty-two years before, in Amboyna [f]. It was also stipulated in the treaty, that the island of Poleron should be restored to the English; but by the help of the same address which prevented an immediate enquiry into the barbarous expulsion of the English from the Moluccas, the restitution of this island was diverted and postponed; for Cromwell, having had the honour of inserting the article concerning it in the peace, suffered himself to be prevailed upon, by certain arguments, not to insist on the execution of it [g]. This, however it was brought about, was a prodigious advantage to the Dutch, as it prevented any diminution of their fame in the Indies, and left them in full possession of all that they had acquired by those practices for which they made a pecuniary satisfaction; which was in effect nothing, when compared with the reputation which naturally resulted from the methods, in which they had manifested their superiority in those parts; to which

[e] Corps Universelle Diplomatique, tom. vi. part. ii. p. 88.
[f] Ibid. [g] Histoire de la Conquete des Isles Moluques, tom. iii. p. 274.

no check either was or could be given at this time, though the naval power of England was actually superior to their's in Europe [h].

SECT. VIII.

The Causes of the War of Ceylon; the Progress of that War, the great Success of the Dutch in that Island, in which they not only render themselves superior to the Portuguese, but also force the Natives to a Submission, and absolutely defeat their whole Force, when exerted to shake off the Yoke.

A succinct history of the war in Ceylon.

THE benefits springing from these, and other transactions of a like nature, though considerable in themselves, were not however to be named with another vast acquisition, that of the island of Ceylon, by which the Dutch added to the possession of the nutmeg, mace, and clove trade, already in their hands, that of cinnamon, whereby they obtained a complete monopoly of one of the most considerable branches of the Indian commerce, that of spices [i].

The state of affairs in the island of Ceylon at the time the company began her operations.

Rajah Singa was king of Candy, or Gandy; and having been educated with his brother, the prince of Uva, amongst the Portuguese, had, as their own writers say, a great affection, as well as a high esteem, for their nation; but, not being able to bear the repeated oppressions and insolencies of the governor, he had been forced into a war, in which he obtained a great victory; but being informed, that the Portuguese had sent considerable succours from Goa, were taking all imaginable measures to carry on the war, and in the mean time burnt his towns, and plundered his subjects, under the protection of the fortresses they had built upon his frontiers, he resolved, as his last resource, to make an alliance with the Dutch, and to drive this imperious nation out of the island [k]. Accordingly, in the month of March, 1638, he sent two embassadors to Batavia, who were received with all the respect imaginable; they declared to the general

[h] Neuville Hist. Van Holl. 1 deel. lib. xi. [i] Janiçon Etat present de la Republique des Provinces-unies, tom. i. p. 309. [k] Histoire de l'Isle de Ceylon, par Ribeyro, liv. ii. chap. 5.

and

and council, in the name of the king their maſter, that the Portugueſe, in direct violation of treaties, and without any juſt cauſe whatever, had attacked, and carried the flame of war into the very heart of his dominions, which he had no hopes of extinguiſhing by any meaſures that he could poſſibly take, ſince the quiet of the iſland depended entirely on the caprices of the governors-general, who never wanted pretences, when they had a mind to diſturb it; a conſideration which induced the king to deſire the aſſiſtance of the company againſt the common enemy. To this remonſtrance it was anſwered, that they were very well appriſed of the truth of this repreſentation in all its circumſtances; that there was ſcarce a country in India from which they had not received the ſame complaints; that the company took a pleaſure in eſpouſing the cauſe of injured nations; and that they were willing to exert their whole force for the aſſiſtance of the king of Candy, without any other view than that of doing him juſtice, and ſetting him free from the tyranny of their common enemy[1]. Upon this declaration an alliance was concluded, by which the Dutch undertook to furniſh an army and a fleet for the ſervice of the king, to reduce the fortreſſes in the poſſeſſion of the Portugueſe, and, when diſmantled, to put them into his hands, ſo that he might be at liberty to correſpond and trade with whom he pleaſed. On the other hand it was ſtipulated, that the king ſhould alſo bring as great a force as he was able into the field; that he ſhould pay the Dutch the expence of their expedition, and for any loſſes they might ſuſtain therein, according to certain rates that were ſettled, and that they ſhould be allowed to keep a ſingle place for a ſecure retreat.

Concluſion of the alliance, and iſſue of the firſt war.

In conſequence of this treaty they fitted out from Batavia a ſquadron of ſix men of war, with a body of land-forces on board; and in the month of February, 1639, they made a deſcent on the weſt coaſt of the iſland of Ceylon, where they made themſelves maſters of the fortreſſes of Batecalou and Triquinimala, which, agreeable to their treaty, they demoliſhed immediately, and put into the hands of the king, who was not a little pleaſed with their punctuality in performing the conditions of their alliance. Somewhat earlier the next year the Dutch ſent double the force; and, having landed upwards of three thouſand men, and

[1] Baldæus Deſcription of Ceylon, chap. xviii. xix.

reduced

reduced Negombo and Gallo, places of great ſtrength, which might have made a conſiderable reſiſtance if they had been tolerably well ſupplied, or if the Portugueſe had not fooliſhly ventured an engagement in the field, in which they loſt the beſt part of their forces [m]. The Portugueſe, extremely alarmed at this progreſs of the Dutch, ſent over Don Philip Maſcarenhas, with the title of governor, and a ſmall reinforcement, in the autumn of the ſame year, who immediately beſieged, and retook Negombo by capitulation, in which it was promiſed that the Dutch ſhould have veſſels given them, with every thing requiſite, for tranſporting them to their own ſettlements, and they engaged not to land again on the iſland of Ceylon: but when they came to put to ſea, the Dutch found the veſſels that were given them ſo leaky, that it was not without great difficulty they got into the port of Gallo. This circumſtance the Portugueſe reſenting as a direct breach of faith, gave no quarter for the future; a practice which proved of very bad conſequence to themſelves, as it ſerved to juſtify all the ſeverities which the Dutch afterwards exerciſed upon them. At this juncture, however, the former thought the war near an end, for they made no doubt of taking Gallo as eaſily as it had been taken from them; but they were quickly convinced of their miſtake; the Dutch defended it with ſo much reſolution, that, after the loſs of a great number of men in a ſiege of a conſiderable length, they were obliged to turn it into a blockade, which laſted two years [n]. At length there came advice of the revolution in Portugal, and of the truce made between king John the Fourth and the republic of the United Provinces; upon which it was agreed that each ſhould continue poſſeſſed in the Indies of what was actually in their power at the concluſion of this treaty. The Dutch, therefore, demanded that the diſtrict belonging to the fortreſs of Gallo ſhould be left to them; a demand which the Portugueſe refuſed, pretending that they were entitled to no more of the country than was under the command of their artillery, which was in effect continuing the blockade in a time of peace; and, being infatuated with their own notions of ſuperiority, they would needs continue the war, which proved in the end, as it might

[m] Hiſtoire de l'Iſle de Ceylon, par Ribeyro, liv. iii. cap. 5. 6, 7. Baldæus, cap. xxiii. xxiv. [n] Hiſtoire de l'Iſle de Ceylon, par Ribeyro, liv. iii. chap. 8.

have

have been easily foreseen it would, the total ruin of their affairs [o].

The strange conduct of the Portuguese in their defence of that island.

But they were guilty of a far stranger act of infatuation; for the prince of Uva, brother to the king of Candy, who was always in their interests, carried things at last so far, that the king declared war against him; and, falling suddenly with a great army into his country, forced him to fly for succour to his friends the Portuguese [p]. They received him indeed with all the honours imaginable, and had now an opportunity put into their hands of retrieving all they had lost by their past mistakes; for that prince was infinitely beloved by his brother's subjects as well as his own, and, as he was elder than Rajah Singa, who succeeded only by his father's will, had a fair pretension to the crown. All he desired was, an escort of one hundred and twenty Portuguese to the frontiers of his own country, where his subjects were ready to rise, and to receive him. This motion, however, was but coolly entertained; and when an old nobleman, who had been the prince's governor, expostulated the point a little warmly with an inferior officer in the troops of Portugal, he ordered his head to be cut off; an order which was executed immediately, notwithstanding all his unfortunate master could do to save him. They afterwards seized upon the person of the prince, and sent him over to Goa, where he was converted to Christianity, and passed the remainder of his days in a prison; while the king of Candy, by the addition of his dominions, which consisted of some of the best provinces in the island, and by the assistance of his subjects, who were the bravest and best soldiers in it, became so much the more powerful, and continued the war against them with indefatigable diligence, at the same time that he received and protected all who deserted from them [q]. This sending the prince of Uva to Goa happened before the news of the truce; and, in respect to their conduct upon both occasions, one cannot but acknowlege, that they seemed to take as much pains to lose this fine island as the Dutch took to obtain it, and therefore it is no great wonder that both completed their ends [r].

[o] Histoire Generale de Portugal, tom. vii. [p] Histoire de l'Isle de Ceylon, par Ribeyro, liv. ii. cap. 10. [q] Le Clerc Hist. Provinces-unies, tom. ii. p. 231. [r] Ribeyro Hist. del'Isle de Ceylon, liv. ii. cap. 11.

The

The Dutch commodore Peter Borel, who had been sent with a squadron to Ceylon, to notify the truce, perceiving how little he was able to obtain from those who had the administration of the Portuguese affairs in that island, proceeded to Goa, in order to treat with the viceroy; and, meeting with exactly the same usage from him, contented himself with disembarking five hundred men at Ponte de Gallo, with instructions to the Dutch governor to support and defend himself as well as he could [s]. Upon this intimation, he marched part of his garrison out of the place, in order to cover such of his people as were employed in collecting provisions; which detachment, without any regard to the truce, the Portuguese attacked and defeated, and then turned their forces against the king of Candy, who continued to give them all the disturbance in his power. The Dutch general and council at Batavia, being well apprised of the situation things were in, and that the Portuguese had nothing less in view than driving them entirely out of the island, equipped a strong fleet, with a body of between three and four thousand men on board, which appeared before Negombo in the beginning of the month of January, 1644. The Portuguese army, which consisted of about five hundred of their own troops, besides the Lascharins or Indian soldiers in their pay, was in the neighbourhood of that place, under the command of Don Antonio Mascarenhas, brother to the governor; and, according to their usual vain and ridiculous custom, resolved to fight the enemy as soon as possible, let their force be what it would. On the fourth of that month, the Dutch, under their general Francis Caron, landed their forces, which consisted of seven battalions, each as strong as the Portuguese army; and, as soon as they were disposed in proper order, marched to find out the enemy. Don Antonio, with his troops, was in full march towards them, and, finding their two first battalions embarrassed in their passage between two mountains, briskly attacked and routed them; but continuing his pursuit into the plain, quickly found himself surrounded by the other five battalions Some of the Lascharins saved themselves by flight; but not a man of the Portuguese, either officer or soldier escaped; so that nothing could be more decisive than this action; in consequence of which, Negombo fell immediately

Wise conduct of the Dutch, and extreme vanity and weakness in the Portuguese.

[s] Baldæus Description of Ceylon, cap. 42.

diately into the hands of the victors; but finding that the Portuguese had drawn their whole strength into Columbo, they contented themselves with leaving a strong garrison in their new conquest, and then reimbarked their troops, and sailed back to Batavia [t].

Prudent interposition of king John IV. in case the Portuguese had improved it.

As soon as the Dutch had retired, the Portuguese general having received a considerable reinforcement from Goa, invested Negombo in the month of April. He continued some time before the place, without making any great progress; at length he carried a fort, in which there were fifty men, whom he put to the sword. This cruelty made the garrison of the place desperate; so that in two general assaults the besiegers lost half their army, and were at length glad to retire with the rest to Columbo [u]. In the month of December of the same year, arrived the Dutch general, John Maatzuyker, with an order from the king of Portugal, to put the Dutch immediately into possession of the districts belonging to the fortresses they then held, or which they had been in possession of a year before [x]. This gave great disgust to the Portuguese, though without any reason, for they were now so weak that the Dutch could easily deal with them.

Surprising stroke of policy in the emperor of Ceylon to secure the confidence of the Dutch.

As soon as the country was evacuated, the Dutch gave notice to the king of Candy of the treaty they had made, and that by a clause therein he might become a contracting party, if he would; an offer which that prince readily accepted [y]. It seems, however, that he was far enough from being pleased at this transaction, conceiving, that if these two nations came to have a right understanding together, the consequences could not be favourable to his interests, a consideration which made him study to renew the war. He acted in this respect like a great politician, encouraging such of the natives as were by this treaty become subjects to the Dutch to desert their habitations, and retire into his dominions; to prevent which desertion the governor of Ponte de Gallo caused a small detachment to take post upon his frontiers. Rajah Singa pretended to take this step extremely ill, and privately desired leave of the Portuguese to pass through their territories, in order to attack that detachment. This being readily granted, his troops,

[t] Baldæus, cap. 42. [u] Histoire de l'Isle de Ceylon, liv. iii. chap. 15. [x] Histoire Generale de Portugal, par Monf de la Cseyde, tom. vii. p. 99. Histoire de la Conquête des Isles Moluques, tom. iii. p. 318. [y] Histoire de l'Isle de Ceylon, par Ribeyro, liv. iii. chap. 15.

by

by a quick march, surrounded the Dutch, and made them prisoners, but without bloodshed. The governor of Ponte de Gallo, much surprised at these hostilities, sent an officer to the king of Candy's court, to reclaim the prisoners, whom he entertained with great civility and respect. When he opened to him the subject of his commission, the king told him frankly, that he had no design to prejudice the Dutch, but that he had a mind to see what the disposition was of the Portuguese, and how far he might trust to their new peace. He then gave him convincing proofs, that they had not only granted him a passage, but offered him their assistance; and then he set the Dutch at liberty[z].

The war immediately renewed, on the truce expiring, on which the Portuguese seize their governor.

The Dutch governor of Ponte de Gallo took care to let the king know how much he thought himself obliged to him in this transaction, by which he plainly discovered, that it never entered into his intention to betray them to the Portuguese. The governor likewise ordered all of that nation, who continued to live in the provinces yielded to the Dutch, to quit them without delay; but, in other respects, observed the truce very punctually, making, however, the best preparation he could for renewing the war, as soon as it should be expired. The Portuguese on the other hand, though they might have been easily informed of the Dutch preparations, were equally careless and inactive; so that in the month of October, 1652, when two Dutch officers arrived at Colombo, to acquaint the governor that he was no longer to consider them as friends, all things fell into confusion, the people having no confidence in Don Manuel Mascarenhas Homen, who then enjoyed that post, put him under arrest, as a step necessary to their safety [a].

By their rashness lose a battle against the Dutch, by which their force is absolutely broken.

Don Gaspar Figueira, who was at the head of the troops, had the good luck to defeat a small detachment of the Dutch, and afterwards to beat the king of Candy, exploits which raised their courage extremely. He was still more successful next year, both against the Dutch and the king of Candy, whom he routed in a general engagement, in which there fell more of this king's subjects than in any dispute he ever had with the Portuguese [b]. The Dutch at Batavia having a just sense of the importance of this war, sent Gerard Hulst, with a good fleet and army, to Gallo,

[z] Baldæus, cap. 43. [a] Histoire Generale de Portugal, par La Clede, tom. vii. p. 522, 523. [b] Histoire de l'Isle de Ceylon, par Ribeyro, liv. iii. chap. 17.

with an abſolute power to act as he thought fit, in order to bring things to a concluſion as ſoon as poſſible. He arrived the laſt of September, 1655, and found the Dutch army before Calitura, which ſurrendered on the 14th of October. Two days after arrived Don Gaſpar Figueira, with his ſmall but victorious army, who, forgetting that he had to do with Europeans, and regular troops, and not reflecting on what had happened to other officers of his nation, who had engaged raſhly, gave the Dutch battle, though much inferior to them in all reſpects. General Hulſt was ſurpriſed at the courage or rather confidence of this hero; but having ſuſtained two attacks, in which the Portugueſe loſt the beſt part of their men, he ſoon diſperſed the reſt, and obliged the ſmall remains of their army to take ſhelter in Columbo. That place was next attacked, and, partly by force, partly by famine, reduced, ſo that on the 10th of May it was ſurrendered [c]. The king of Candy aſſiſted in perſon at this ſiege, with an army of forty thouſand men; and therefore inſiſted, that purſuant to treaties it ſhould be put into his hands; a demand which the Dutch poſitively refuſed, alleging, that he had not complied with the terms ſtipulated, and that there was a very large debt due to them, for which they meant to keep Columbo as a ſecurity [d].

The king of Candy, or emperor of Ceylon, breaks with the Dutch, to no purpoſe.

If the affairs of the crown of Portugal in this iſland had not been in a manner deſperate, and their power in the Indies almoſt brought to nothing, they might now have had ſome chance for reſtoring them; ſince a war preſently broke out between the king of Candy and the Dutch, in which there was much blood ſpilt on both ſides. But a conſiderable reinforcement coming from Batavia, they firſt ſwept the places which the Portugueſe had upon the coaſt of Coromandel; then made themſelves maſters of the iſland of Manar, between Ceylon and the main; and, at laſt, beſieged the fortreſs of Jafanapatan, which, after holding out three months, ſurrendered, June 24th, 1658, and the garriſon being made priſoners of war, were tranſported to Batavia [e]. Thus the conqueſt of Ceylon was entirely finiſhed: and the king of Candy, after having often hazarded his own perſon, and loſt, in the ſpace of twenty years, many thouſands of his ſubjects, found, at length,

[c] Hiſtoire Generale de Portugal, par La Cleyde, tom. vii. p. 605—618.
[d] Hiſtoire de l'Iſle de Ceylon, par Ribeyro, liv. iii. chap. 21.
[e] Baldæus Deſcription of Ceylon, chap. 44.

that

that he had only fought to change his maſters; and that the Dutch, by ſubduing the Portugueſe, thought they had a good title to ſucceed to all their rights; a claim to which the king and his ſucceſſors have been forced, ever ſince, to ſubmit. But as hitherto they have not been very ſucceſsful in that reſpect, they have of late made a virtue of neceſſity, ſent ambaſſadors occaſionally to Batavia, and lived upon as good terms with the company as any of the princes of India: and yet it is very doubtful, whether they have altogether conquered that averſion which all men have, and princes more than other men, to be kept in a ſtate of abject ſlavery and dependence.

END OF THE EIGHTH VOLUME.

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